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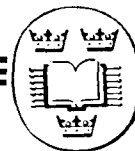
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN\*

THE French sense of the dramatic has resulted in many magnificent and impressive victory celebrations in Paris, but none has ever eclipsed that of the ninth and tenth Thermidor of the Year VI of the first French Republic (July 27 and 28, 1798). An engraving of the time, now in the National Library in Paris, shows us many of the details, and descriptions of the celebration are to be found in pamphlets printed for the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion was the arrival in Paris of the first convoy of art treasures confiscated by Napoleon during his Italian campaign. The engraving shows the ceremony of reception at the Champ de Mars, a parade ground in front of the Paris Ecole Militaire. During the Revolution, the parade ground had been enclosed by an embankment planted with trees, under which rows of seats were placed for spectators. In the engraving a row of formally trimmed trees marks off the edge of the circle. Inside, and opposite the entrance, a smaller circle is enclosed by a low wooden fence, inside of which is the altar

\*The author is assistant professor of European history in Duke University.

<sup>1</sup>The engraving, which bears the stamp of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, is entitled "Entrée triomphale des monuments des sciences et des arts en France; fête à ce sujet les 9 et 10 thermidor, an VI de la République." The engraver was Berthaut.

of victory, also dating from Revolutionary days. Within this small circle stand groups of officials and distinguished guests, students from the Ecole Polytechnique, and other soldiers. Behind the altar, and raised well above the level of the parade ground, is an enormous colonnaded building where crowds of people are to be seen seated in a sort of gallery between the columns on the sides facing the parade. This is the pictured setting for the Fête des Victoires.

The booty collected in Italy, even during the first campaign there, was as varied as it was extensive. A procession of wagons circled the parade ground, and finally lined up in three rows in front of the altar and the officials. The engraving shows the procession, most conspicuous in it being the four bronze horses taken from St. Mark's in Venice and carried on an open wagon drawn by six horses. In front of them is a wagon with a cage of lions, while behind march four dromedaries. Extending around the circle are other wagons, many of them with enormous crates, covered with branches of trees for protection from the weather and carrying signs listing their contents. At the head a banner confidently proclaimed "La Grèce les céda; Rome les a perdus; leur sort changea deux fois, il ne changera plus." In these crates there traveled to Paris such treasures as the Apollo Belvedere, the Medici Venus, the Discobolus, the Dying Gladiator, the Laocoön, and sixty or more other pieces of sculpture from the Vatican and Capitoline museums and other collections. Nine paintings by Raphael, two famous Corregios, mineral and natural history collections, the bears of Bern, animals from zoos, and valuable manuscripts including those from the Vatican dated prior to A.D. 900.<sup>2</sup> The popular interests were catered to by the inclusion of the animals and of such famous religious relics as the miracle-working wooden Virgin of Loreto, attributed to Luke;<sup>3</sup> but the main purpose of Napoleon was to bring to Paris as many of the art treasures of Europe as he could. People justified this not only by the doctrine that the spoils of war belong to the victors but by more obscure theories. A petition had been sent to the Directory in October, 1796, signed by almost all the great French artists of the day, in which it was argued that

The more our climate seems unfavorable to the arts, the more do we require models here in order to overcome the obstacles to the progress thereof. . . . The Romans,

<sup>2</sup> Charles Saunier, *Les conquêtes artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1902), pp. 36-38 and plate III; Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon, VIII, Spectacles et Musées* (Paris, 1913), 236; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Histoire de la société française pendant le Directoire* (Paris, 1864), pp. 284-87; Léopold Delisle, "Les archives du Vatican," *Journal des savants*, Paris, 1892, pp. 429-41, 489-501.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 118-19; Eugène Müntz, "Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèques et leur rôle dans les relations internationales," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, IX (1896), 484.

once an uncultivated people, became civilized by transplanting to Rome the works of conquered Greece. . . . Thus . . . the French people . . . naturally endowed with exquisite sensitivity, will . . . by seeing the models from antiquity, train its feeling and its critical sense. . . . The French Republic, by its strength and superiority of its enlightenment and its artists, is the only country in the world which can give a safe home to these masterpieces. All other Nations must come to borrow from our art, as they once imitated our frivolity.<sup>4</sup>

And a lieutenant of Hussars who had escorted a collection from Belgium some years earlier made a speech to the Convention in which he said that works of art had been "soiled too long by slavery" and that "These immortal works are no longer on foreign soil. They are brought to the homeland of arts and genius, to the homeland of liberty and sacred equality, the French Republic."<sup>5</sup> Napoleon himself wrote from Milan in 1796, "all men of genius, all those who have attained distinction in the republic of letters, are French no matter in what country they may have been born."<sup>6</sup> And a French general whose book appeared in English translation in 1799, wrote as follows:

. . . statues which the French have taken from the degenerate Roman Catholic to adorn the museum of Paris, and to distinguish by the most noble of trophies, the triumph of liberty over tyranny, and of philosophy over superstition. Real conquests are those made in behalf of the arts, the sciences and taste, and they are the only ones capable of consoling for the misfortune of being compelled to undertake them from other motives.<sup>7</sup>

Inspired by such sentiments, they were horrified at the idea of an uncere-  
monious arrival in the capital, "precious relics from Rome arriving like coal  
barges . . . and . . . unloaded at the Quai du Louvre like boxes of soap." In-  
stead, it was decided to bring them "quietly and modestly and as economically  
as possible" as far as the outskirts of Paris, then in a procession across the  
city from the Jardin des Plantes to the Champ de Mars, and only after the  
celebration there would they be deposited in the new National Museum in  
the Louvre.<sup>8</sup>

There had been some protest against this wholesale robbery. Quatremère  
de Quincy had written a pamphlet in 1796 in which he reminded people that  
some of the greatest works of art could fortunately not be removed, such as  
the Coliseum, the Sistine Chapel, the Farnesina Palace, the beautiful rooms  
of the Vatican, and many frescoes. If the French wished to revive their in-

<sup>4</sup> Published in the *Moniteur*, Oct. 3, 1796, quoted by Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 377; and Saunier, pp. 51-53.

<sup>5</sup> Published in the *Décade philosophique*, I (Paris, Oct. 1, 1794), quoted in Saunier, pp. 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, IV (Paris, 1892), 154.

<sup>7</sup> [François R. J. de Pommercul], *Campaign of General Buonaparte in Italy* (Edinburgh, 1799), pp. 52-53.

<sup>8</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, MS. F<sup>7</sup> 1278, quoted in Saunier, p. 35.



terest in antiquity, why, instead of despoiling Rome, did they not "exploit the ruins of Provence . . . investigate the debris of Vienne, Arles, Orange. . . Why not restore the beautiful amphitheater at Nîmes to house the ancient treasures of this Roman Colony?"<sup>9</sup>

But this was not the official opinion. Even before Napoleon, there had been "representatives of the people" with the armies of the North and the Sambre-et-Meuse to make selections. Thus in 1794, three famous Rubens paintings from Antwerp—"Christ Crucified between the Thieves," the "Elevation of the Cross," and the "Descent from the Cross"—and numerous other canvases, together with some five thousand volumes from the University of Louvain, had been sent to Paris. Some things had also been removed from Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne. The Convention was told, on August 31, 1794, that "Craayer, Van Dyck and Rubens are on the way to Paris, and the whole Flemish school rises with one accord to come to adorn our museums."<sup>10</sup> The booty might have been even more extensive, had not Emperor Joseph II confiscated the possessions of 162 religious establishments in the Low Countries eleven years before, taking the best pictures to Vienna and selling the rest.<sup>11</sup>

The first Italian campaign yielded tremendous quantities of valuable objects of all sorts. From May, 1796, when armistices were signed with the dukes of Modena and Parma, until the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797, when Venice was handed over to the Austrians in return for a free hand elsewhere, Napoleon had savants constantly on the lookout for booty. Milan was plundered and the dukes of Modena and Parma were required to hand over twenty paintings each from their own and public collections, but all sorts of things were being taken in addition until the pillage was stopped by Bonaparte himself. In June both the king of Naples and the pope signed truces, which in the case of the pope contained a clause promising five hundred manuscripts from the Vatican, and one hundred "pictures and busts." Two busts, those of Marcus and Junius Brutus were stipulated, but other statues of equal and greater importance were chosen.<sup>12</sup> In the case of the manuscripts,

<sup>9</sup> Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres au général Miranda sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux arts et à la science le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie*, etc. (Paris, 1796), quoted in Saunier, pp. 46-48.

<sup>10</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. F<sup>17</sup> 1276, and *Décade philosophique*, I, 94 ff., both quoted in Saunier, pp. 27-29; Eugène A. Despois, *Le Vandalisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1868), p. 179; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 382.

<sup>11</sup> *Magazin Encyclopédique*, I (Paris, 1795), quoted in Saunier, p. 30; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 380.

<sup>12</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon I* (Paris, 1858-70), I, 251-52, 283, 292-94, 303-305, 449, 517; II, 446; III, 497-505; Jules Guiffrey, "L'Académie de France à Rome de 1793 à 1803," *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 659; [Pommereul], *Campaign*, pp. 31, 52-55, 79, 86; J. Holland Rose, in *Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1934), VIII, 571; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 385-88.

it had been suggested by the French scholar La Porte du Theil, who knew the Vatican well, that the commissioners take only the famous Fonds Regina, the library of Queen Christina of Sweden. This collection had been originally purchased in Paris from the collector Petau, which led La Porte du Theil to believe that its return to France would arouse less resentment than would the departure of some other treasures and that there would be a better chance of keeping it, but the commissioners, who were not in this case very competent, chose instead to select manuscripts by obvious value and age, and the final haul included every manuscript in the Vatican dated before the year 900.<sup>13</sup> The pope had to pay for the transportation of the manuscripts and all other confiscated treasures, and the Vatican librarian accompanied the collection to Paris.<sup>14</sup> The people of Rome were very angry, and in August, 1796, there were riots in which the mob attacked the French commissioners. There had also been riots in Milan and Parma.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the Vatican library, libraries at Modena, Brera, Pavia, Monza, Bologna, and the famous Ambrosian Library in Milan were all plundered.<sup>16</sup>

Worse was yet to come. The following February, the pope was compelled to sign the Treaty of Tolentino, which added 300,000,000 scudi to the indemnity and allowed the confiscation of more treasures, this time including selections from Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Perugia, and Loreto. In the Vatican, everything was opened up and personal choices of valuable jewels went to Napoleon and the directors, while gold and silver medallions were sent to be melted down.<sup>17</sup> In April and May, 1797, the French were in Venice, where they removed the winged lion and the famous bronze horses, attributed by tradition to Lysippus, from above the portal of St. Mark's. In October of that year, the Peace of Campo Formio was signed between the Holy Roman emperor and Napoleon. The emperor got Venice, but many a Titian and Tintoretto joined the bronze horses on the road to Rome.<sup>18</sup> When Napoleon later arranged to commemorate his victories of 1805 and 1806, by building the Arc de Triomphe on the Place du Carrousel at the main entrance to the Tuileries, he had these bronze horses placed at the top as the main ornament of the arch.<sup>19</sup>

The first convoys, each consisting of ten to twelve wagons, left on April

<sup>13</sup> Delisle, in *Jour. des savants*, 1892, pp. 429-41.

<sup>14</sup> Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 660.

<sup>15</sup> [Pommereul], *Campaign*, p. 131.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53 and appendix: Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 386-89.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst Steinmann, "Die Plünderung Roms durch Bonaparte," *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, XI (1916-17), 830.

<sup>18</sup> Rose, in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, VIII, 592-93.

<sup>19</sup> Letter of Daunou, quoted by Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, XI, 486.

9, June 10, and July 8, 1797.<sup>20</sup> Wagons hauled the enormous crates to Leghorn, where they were placed on a ship for Marseilles. Some continued to Paris in wagons, but it was felt safer to put fragile and heavy pieces on canal boats, on which they traveled up the Rhone and thence by the usual combination of rivers and canals to Paris.<sup>21</sup> Some things, notably those from Venice, seem to have started by sea, but the route is not clear.<sup>22</sup>

The Egyptian campaign, which immediately followed that in Italy, provided opportunity for excavations and scientific studies. But when the campaign collapsed in 1801, most of the material fell into the hands of the British, including the famous Rosetta Stone. A few books and manuscripts and some private collections were saved.<sup>23</sup>

The "Museum français," where the works of art were to be installed, was already in existence in the Louvre. Although most of the old royal collections were at Versailles, there was a small exhibit of some 110 canvases which had been open to the public twice a week since 1750. Since the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Louvre had been overrun by favorites of the government. Writers, artists, and even courtiers without some other profession were given lodgings there. They built complete houses in unfinished rooms and defaced beautiful rooms by cutting holes in walls and littering the place with trash. The museum employees of Napoleon's day, who moved in, could not get these squatters out, and it was not until 1805 that they succeeded, supposedly after a visit from the emperor himself, who noticed a great number of chimneys protruding from the windows of the rooms of one gallery. He was afraid they would set fire to his "conquests."<sup>24</sup>

Vivant Denon, the director of the Musée Napoléon, as it came to be called, was an energetic and competent scholar and artist, a protégé of Josephine who had won the confidence of Napoleon during the Egyptian campaign. With him were Ennio Quirino Visconti, formerly of the staff of the Capitoline Museum in Rome and a librarian of the Vatican. The secretary was Louis-Antoine Lavallée, also very competent, and his devotion rivaled that of Denon himself.

The treasures from Italy and the Low Countries were the beginning of

<sup>20</sup> Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, pp. 660-61 and n. 1; Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 667-70.

<sup>21</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 501 and n. 1; Saunier, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 391.

<sup>23</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon*, IV, 383-87, 390-91; V, 64-65, 131; Rose, in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, VIII, 606, 618; Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, II (Paris, 1874), 31.

<sup>24</sup> Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 231-32, 270; Henri Verne, "Les pensionnaires du Louvre," *Figaro*, Supplément, Oct. 21, 1911; Albert Babeau, *Le Louvre et son histoire* (Paris, 1898), p. 264.



a long procession of "conquests" which continued until the return of the Bourbons. At the time of the first abdication of Napoleon, wagonloads of pictures confiscated in Spain had just crossed the border and halted at Bayonne.<sup>25</sup>

The plunder of the various German cities had begun when the commissioners brought back material from the Rhineland during the Flanders campaign of 1794. At that time the most spectacular loss suffered was that of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the removal of the marble pillars from the Hochminster and the Proserpine sarcophagus from one of the chapels. The pillars had originally been taken from Ravenna, Rome, and Trier, and brought to Aix by Charlemagne to form a double row around the upper chapel. The Proserpine sarcophagus was the traditional tomb of Charlemagne. It was a second century Roman sarcophagus, decorated with a relief of the Rape of Proserpine. These were all taken to the Louvre and some of the pillars used in the rebuilding of one of the rooms, supposedly the Gallery of Apollo. However, this is probably an error, for eight of them now support the ceiling of the Salle de la Paix, and four others form the entrances of the Salle Auguste.<sup>26</sup>

But after the Peace of Lunéville the raids were organized in earnest. The commissioners studied carefully such books as the *Voyage de deux Benedictins* by Martène and Durand,<sup>27</sup> who had described the cloisters and libraries some years earlier. A former Benedictine named Maugérard was sent to the Rhineland in 1802. He sent to Paris manuscripts and incunabula from Trier, Coblenz, Cologne, Bonn, and Mainz, including valuable Gutenberg materials. The French minister also sent from Cologne a collection of rare sixteenth century stained glass.<sup>28</sup>

In 1806 and 1807 the collections and castles of the North German princes were raided systematically. The director of the project was the director of the museum in Paris, Vivant Denon, but the work was parceled out among his aides, notably Daru, and Henri Beyle, better known as Stendhal, a protégé of Daru since the days of the Italian campaign. In October, 1806, the famous gallery of Cassel suffered its first levy, of forty-eight of its best pictures. They had been hidden in a hunting lodge, possibly when it became known that

<sup>25</sup> Saunier, p. 74.

<sup>26</sup> Hermann Degering, "Französische Kunstraub in Deutschland," *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 37-38; Louis Hourticq, *Le musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1921), p. 172; Baedeker, *Paris and Environs* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 92; *id.*, *The Rhine* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 5; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, VIII, 485.

<sup>27</sup> Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins de la congrégation de Saint Maur* (2 vols., Paris, 1717-24).

<sup>28</sup> Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 14-16, 22-23.

Electeur William I had signed them over to Napoleon, but they were found by General Legrange and sent to Mainz. There they were seen by Empress Josephine, who succeeded in persuading Napoleon to send them to Malmaison, although there seems to have been some disagreement as to whether they were a gift to her or not. It is known that Josephine's demands were frequently responsible for confiscations of jewels and numerous "petits objets charmants," which the emperor was then expected to give her, as well as pictures for her palaces.<sup>29</sup> Three crates of art objects consigned to her had been included in the last of the four convoys from Italy.<sup>30</sup> Her friendship with Denon was useful in these matters.

The duke of Brunswick, whose name was particularly hateful to the French, was pounced upon with great glee, and he lost about seventy-eight paintings, including some by Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck.<sup>31</sup> His library, at nearby Wolfenbüttel, was one of the finest in Europe, and it received the personal attention of Stendhal himself. Many illuminated manuscripts, the whole Mazarin collection, and the remarkable catalogue were all sent to Paris. The Mazarin collection was a set of some five hundred copies of the best manuscripts in the former library of Cardinal Mazarin, which had been specially made for a famous duke, the learned August the Younger (1579-1660), who had invented an unusual catalogue and even worked on the cards at times himself.

Berlin and Potsdam lost all sorts of art objects, paintings, and books, some annotated in the hand of Voltaire, a famous collection of medallions valued at 500,000 marks and seventy-six carved gems worth 100,000 marks. The remarkable Stosch collection of medallions, still today the pride of a Berlin museum, had apparently been successfully concealed from the searchers.<sup>32</sup>

Berlin and Potsdam together lost 60 paintings, Cassel 299 after the first levy, Schwerin lost 209, Vienna 250 from the Belvedere alone, and the galleries of Düsseldorf and Zweibrücken also suffered. In 1800 Munich and the magnificent collection in the nearby palace of Schleissheim were raided and Nuremberg and Salzburg were robbed, and in 1809 things were removed from Vienna.<sup>33</sup> By 1814 they had about four thousand books, an untold number of paintings and bric-a-brac good and bad, and all the valuable gems

<sup>29</sup> Georg Gronau, "Die Verluste der Casseler Galerie in der Zeit der französischen Okkupation, 1806-1813," *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 1195-96; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 316; Saunier, p. 59; Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1431 (report of Denon), quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-78.

<sup>30</sup> Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 661, n. 1, quotes the itemized list for the convoys, with names of consignees.

<sup>31</sup> Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 47.

<sup>32</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 48.

<sup>33</sup> Saunier, pp. 69-70, 92; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 48.

they could lay hands on, including those in three papal tiaras.<sup>34</sup> Precious metals, including the defaced tiaras, were melted down to be sold by the pound, and two enormous auctions were held, in 1804 and 1811, to turn superfluous articles into money for military purposes.<sup>35</sup> Pictures were purchased at them which are now in galleries in England, and the Russians are said to have bought heavily also.<sup>36</sup> Some pictures and other treasures were presented to churches and museums in the provinces by Napoleon, usually as substitutes for supposed losses during the Revolution.<sup>37</sup> Jewels were given by the empress to her favorites or reserved for herself.<sup>38</sup>

Meantime, opportunities in Italy had not been neglected. When the private library of Pope Pius VI was announced for sale, the French commissioner, Daunou, intervened and seized it. In 1809, Prince Borghese was forced to sell his magnificent collection to Napoleon for the sum of eight million francs, despite his early and continued collaboration with the French and his marriage to Napoleon's favorite sister. The prince did not even get all the money but was forced to accept payment in land and mines which later returned to their owners.<sup>39</sup> W. Buchanan, an English dealer, wrote in 1824 that Napoleon had

levied heavy sums in money on the Princes and nobility . . . who had opposed his arms, and when he saw that these were paid, he renewed his demands so long as he found that the proprietors of works of art still retained their ancient treasures: hence it was that the Princes Colonna, Borghese, Barberini, Chigi, Corsini, Falconieri, Lancellotti, Spada, etc. with many of the noble families of Rome, were forced . . . to dispose of their pictures . . . to prove that they no longer had the means of supporting these heavy and continued contributions.<sup>40</sup>

When the tide finally turned in their favor, the owners of the collections plundered by Napoleon lost no time in trying to get their property back. Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau on April 6, 1814, and the plenipotentiaries signed a convention on April 11 arranging for him and his family. Louis XVIII was in England, but his brother, the comte d'Artois, replaced him in the provisional government from April 14 to May 2, after which the king himself took over. On June 4, 1814, he announced the Charter. The

<sup>34</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 490-93.

<sup>35</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon*, III, 39, 80, 102, 113, 132-33; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 44; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 311.

<sup>36</sup> W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting* (London, 1824), II, deals with a series of collections resulting from these sales.

<sup>37</sup> Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 311.

<sup>38</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77, and Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>2</sup> 2842, quoted in Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 316 (reports of Denon); Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 657, 829.

<sup>39</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 485; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 282-88; Saunier, p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Buchanan, II, 2-3.

comte d'Artois had signed an armistice, the peace treaty itself being signed on May 30 by Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Switzerland, and Portugal, and later, on July 20, by Spain. There was no mention in either document of provision for the confiscated art treasures.

While the comte d'Artois was still in power, the pope had, on April 19, negotiated successfully for the return of his archives, and on April 27, Daunou, director of the archives in Paris, was ordered to restore the documents emanating from the Papal States, as well as a number of articles used in papal ceremonies.<sup>41</sup>

The grandees of Spain, who had been forced to cede a number of paintings to Napoleon, followed the pope's example and approached the king, not waiting for the terms of the peace treaty, in the formation of which they would have no direct part. On May 8, 1814, Louis XVIII announced his decision to return such works of art as had not already been hung or displayed in the Louvre or the Tuileries. This satisfied the appeal from the grandees of Spain and provided for a certain number of things taken from the Low Countries, Prussia, Bavaria, and the grand duchy of Berg. Less than a month later, on June 4, on the occasion of the promulgation of the Charter, the king made a speech in which he definitely deceived people about negotiations for the works of art and gave the impression that the silence of the treaty on the subject was a confirmation of the French rights of possession. He said, "The glory of the French armies has not been tarnished, the monuments to their bravery remain, and the masterpieces of the arts belong to us from now on by stronger rights than those of victory." He said nothing about those he had already promised to return.<sup>42</sup>

Public opinion in Allied countries protested against these French boasts. The London *Courier* of October 15, 1815, summed up the attitude.

The disbanded officers of the army resort to Paris; and going about out of uniform, influence the populace. As the foreign troops withdraw, the insolence of the Parisians increases. They clamour loudly for the removal of the articles of Art. And why? By what right? The right of conquest? Then have they not twice lost them? Do they persist in enforcing that right? Then why do not now the Allies plunder France of every article worth removing which she possessed before Buonaparte's time? They are entitled to do this by the example of Buonaparte's practice, now so eagerly sanctioned by the Parisians.

In July, the Prussian representative in Paris, von der Goltz, wrote to the king's minister of the household, De Blacas, about the Prussian property. He

<sup>41</sup> Müntz, "Les invasions de 1814-1815 et la spoliation de nos musées," *Nouvelle Revue*, CV (1897), 706-707; Henri de Chennevières, "Le Louvre en 1815," *Revue Bleue*, XLIII (1889), 79; Saunier, pp. 85-86.

<sup>42</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 708-709.

stated that Prussia had suffered more than her allies and that, of the four powers, it had made the greatest contribution toward the return of the Bourbons. Despite this, Prussia would not demand the immediate return of those of her paintings and statues then on display until they could be replaced in the Louvre by others, provided that they be returned in the course of the year and that all objects not on display be returned immediately. All this, he added, might be done in complete secrecy.<sup>43</sup>

This throws light on a fundamental problem, that of the popularity of the king. The French, especially the Parisians, were very proud of the trophies of Napoleon's victories and expected to keep them. For this reason much was said about the desire of the Allies to deprive the French of nothing except such articles as contributed to military strength, and it was considered more politic to count upon the restored king to deal privately with foreign sovereigns in the matter of the return of art treasures than to force him to yield publicly to the victors in anything.<sup>44</sup>

After the return from Elba and the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the powers were less reticent in their behavior towards the French and their king. The French, aware of this, tried to get a clause inserted in the Convention of Paris of July 3, 1815, to "guarantee the integrity of museums and libraries." The Allies refused flatly to accept such a provision. For one thing, the French did not recognize the gesture of the previous year as a generous act. They merely accepted it as a deserved tribute to their importance.<sup>45</sup> And, as Lord Liverpool wrote to the British representative in Paris,

The reasonable part of the world are for general restoration to the original possessors, but they say with truth, that we have a better title to such objects; and they blame the policy of leaving the trophies of the French victories in Paris. . . . It is most desirable, in point of policy, to remove them if possible from France, as whilst in that country they must necessarily have the effect of keeping up the remembrance of their former conquests and of cherishing the military spirit and vanity of the nation.<sup>46</sup>

But neither were the Allies willing to include a provision for the return of confiscated property to the original owners. Again it was felt that this could be more tactfully handled by the king privately,<sup>47</sup> and the need for the pro-

<sup>43</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 87-88.

<sup>44</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, quoted in Charles D. Yonge, *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool* (London, 1868), II, 193; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 193.

<sup>45</sup> Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812-1815* (London, 1931), p. 472.

<sup>46</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, ed. by Charles Vane, X (London, 1852), 435; Liverpool to Castlereagh, *ibid.*, X, 453; Castlereagh to Liverpool, Yonge, II, 193.

<sup>47</sup> Yonge, II, 197.

tection of his popularity was greater than before. The British insisted that pressure be brought to bear, and made demands of their Allies, news of which soon became public. The London *Courier*, on October 4, 1815, published extracts from a letter from Paris, written some days earlier.

Things have suddenly taken a very different appearance here. To the great astonishment of everybody, and when there was least reason to expect it, the Duke of Wellington came to the diplomatic conferences with a note in his hand, by which he expressly required all works of Art should be restored to their respective owners. This excited great attention, and the Belgians, who having immense claims to make, had been hitherto most obstinately refused, did not wait to be told that they might begin to take back their own. . . . The brave people are already on their way to return with their Potters and their Rubens.

When it became known that the British delegation was committed to the return of the art treasures by some means or other, Prussia, Spain, the pope, and all the smaller states were encouraged to make demands. The French held the English responsible, suspecting strange motives and even plots. The English, they said, were afraid of competition from the Louvre, since they wanted the British Museum to rank first in the world of art. They accused one member of the British delegation, William Richard Hamilton, of having been sent there to ruin the Louvre. They referred to him as "this viper, Hamilton."<sup>48</sup>

Actually, the behavior of Britain in this instance seems to have been disinterested in so far as art was concerned. They had decided that their interests would be furthered by a stable and popular government in France and they therefore supported such action as they felt would best insure this. On July 5, 1815, and again on August 3, Lord Liverpool, wrote that the prince regent wanted the delegation to try to get some of the masterpieces for the British museums, but both Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington refused to take part in any such efforts.<sup>49</sup> Hamilton, who was secretary of the delegation, wrote to the earl of Bathurst that

We must necessarily give up the idea of procuring for ourselves any of the chef-d'oeuvres from the Louvre. . . . It would throw an odium upon our exertions to restore stolen goods, and those French who are the most exasperated against the general measures of restitution already make use of this argument against our pretended disinterested exertion in the cause of justice. It will be very difficult and problematical to effect the restitution at all, and really for the former owners. If accompanied with any proposal to our own benefit the whole will fall to the ground, and the French will remain undisturbed proprietors of what they are

<sup>48</sup> De Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII, 83; letter of Denon to Talleyrand, Sept. 16, 1815, Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>p</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 114, n. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Liverpool to Castlereagh, Yonge, II, 193; same to same, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, X, 453; Castlereagh to Liverpool, *ibid.*, XI, 12-14.



now afraid they are to lose; and they will have the additional gratification of owing it to our mismanagement.<sup>50</sup>

Hamilton did not deserve the vituperative epithets hurled at him by the French, but a previous experience was responsible for their hatred of him. He was a career diplomat and, like many of his colleagues, a collector of some reputation and taste. While secretary to Lord Elgin in Constantinople, he had aided in getting the Elgin marbles for the British Museum and had himself supervised the removal of the Parthenon frieze in 1802. He was in Egypt with a mission in 1801, after the French evacuation, and it was he who had caught the French in the act of violating the treaty by shipping the Rosetta Stone out secretly. Hamilton had commandeered some soldiers, rowed out to the ship, and carried the Rosetta Stone back himself.<sup>51</sup> This story obviously did not endear him to the French.

Even before the signing of the Convention of Paris, the return of articles not on display had begun. On September 1, 1814, Austria and on December 29 Prussia were given back their manuscripts, and during this same period Perugia and some of the other Italian cities started negotiations for their paintings. Prussia succeeded almost immediately in recovering a large number of statues and miscellaneous bric-a-brac and thirty-nine paintings including ten Cranachs and three Corregios. The duke of Brunswick received 85 paintings, 174 pieces of Limoges porcelain, 980 majolica vases, and some wood carvings and minor objects. The Bavarian commissioners got some paintings and negotiated for an exchange of some others. They asked for works of first-rate French artists, and Denon, director of the Louvre, suspected that they were trying to get rid of inferior works to receive in return works of great value.<sup>52</sup> On December 20, 1814, he wrote the minister of the household, warning him against any such exchange and against setting precedents of this sort.<sup>53</sup> In January, 1815, the Louvre and the Royal Library had lost very little—only 6 paintings, 46 marble and 52 bronze statues, 461 carved gems, and a few manuscripts. Most of the treasures returned had been taken, as agreed, from things still in storage. And Denon began to call in some of the paintings which had previously been given to churches and museums in the provinces to take the place of those to be sent abroad.<sup>54</sup>

The return of Napoleon interrupted everything, but immediately after the Convention of Paris in July, 1815, the negotiations reopened. In fact,

<sup>50</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst, Preserved at Cirencester Park* (London, 1923), p. 385.

<sup>51</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII (London, 1921), 1119.

<sup>52</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 714-15.

<sup>53</sup> Saunier, p. 93. <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-94; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 707.

while diplomats were discussing ways and means of returning the art objects without humiliating Louis XVIII, individual owners began to take matters into their own hands. The French blame Talleyrand for not taking a stronger stand in this matter, but he was probably helpless. In addition, while it may not have been known at the time, there is evidence that he had in his possession some things which might have been taken away if any systematic effort were to be made to restore everything. In Orléans there is a record of a relative having been given six thousand manuscripts during the Revolution, taken from the central depot to which confiscated French property had been consigned. And he personally got possession also of some of the paintings confiscated in Germany by Napoleon. It may have seemed wise to him to keep as quiet as possible on the subject of confiscations.<sup>55</sup>

The Prussians were the first to act. King Frederick William delegated von Ribbentropp, ancestor of the diplomat of our own day, to get the paintings back. He was seconded by Jacobi, an expert, and by a reserve officer who was also an expert, Eberhard de Groote. On July 7, immediately after the Prussians marched into Paris, von Ribbentropp called upon Denon at the Louvre to claim such Prussian treasures as had not been returned, but Denon demanded an order from the French government. The next day Jacobi came with an official order, not from Louis XVIII but from von Ribbentropp. Denon appealed to Talleyrand, playing for time by agreeing to have the packing of the statues done while waiting for a reply. On July 9 von Ribbentropp threatened to send soldiers to seize the pictures and to send Denon to a prison in Prussia unless he acceded before noon of the tenth. At one A.M. of the tenth, the soldiers arrived, and Denon allowed the operation to proceed. Talleyrand wrote to the Prussian ambassador, General Baron von Müffling, to say that more time was needed in order to do things properly, but he was ignored. By July 13, all the Prussian paintings and statues were out of the Louvre and in storage to await shipment to Prussia.<sup>56</sup> Meantime, men from Blücher's army had gone to Saint-Cloud, Compiègne, and Fontainebleau to take the masterpieces hung in those chateaux. They took away two paintings which admittedly did not belong to them, as guarantees, said Blücher in response to the protests. The Prussians also took, or assisted others to take, a great deal of what had belonged to the other North German states and especially those united with Prussia in the course of the war.<sup>57</sup> This meant that

<sup>55</sup> Charles Cuissard, "Origine, formation et développement de la bibliothèque d'Orléans," *Memoires de la société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XXV (Orléans, 1894), 250.

<sup>56</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 108; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 194; Saunier, pp. 102, 105-106; de Chénnevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, LXIII, 81.

<sup>57</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, XI, 12-14; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 199; Saunier, p. 107.

the city of Cologne and the grand dukes of Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin had profited by the Prussian activity. Holland, Belgium, the Vatican, and the Italian cities could not be expected to remain silent.

To the great annoyance of the French, emissaries of the Dutch consul arrived at noon on September 18 to reclaim the possessions of the newly created state of the Netherlands. Some of the finest paintings had come from Antwerp, The Hague, Amsterdam, and religious establishments in Holland and Belgium. Denon wrote to Metternich and others in protest, and in his letter to Talleyrand, September 16, he said,

If we yield to the claims of Holland and Belgium, we deprive the Museum of one of its greatest assets, that of having a series of excellent colorists. . . . Russia is not hostile, Austria has had everything returned, Prussia has a restoration more complete. . . . There remains only England, who has in truth nothing to claim, but who, since she has just bought the bas-reliefs of which Lord Elgin plundered the Temple at Athens, now thinks she can become a rival of the Museum [Louvre], and wants to deplete this Museum in order to collect the remains [for herself].<sup>58</sup>

When the Dutch workmen were refused admission, they were given the protection of the army of occupation. Lord Castlereagh had informed the British government on September 11 that this would have to be done. His letter reads in part as follows:

having witnessed . . . the Prussians remove by force, not only all the works of art taken away from the Prussian dominions, but those plundered from Cologne and other towns on the left bank of the Rhine—possessions which have since been acquired by Prussia . . . The Prussians have also assisted . . . others to recover in like manner what belonged to them. This proceeding of the Prussians makes it almost indispensable for the King of the Netherlands to replace in the Churches of Belgium the pictures of which they were dispoiled. His Majesty, I believe, feels this so strongly, that he would rather sacrifice his own family collection, now in the Louvre, than fail in this act of political duty to his new subjects. . . . I cannot see therefore, the possibility of the Duke of Wellington, as the military commander of the troops of the King, doing otherwise than giving aid to remove by force, if necessary, these objects, and it becomes Great Britain not the less to see the same measures of justice distributed to her immediate ally, as that which has been obtained by the adjacent states.<sup>59</sup>

On August 5, Metternich had asked for the return of the Austrian and Venetian treasures.<sup>60</sup> On September 20, in Vienna, Austria, England, and Prussia agreed that all art objects should be returned to their original owners. The tsar was not a party to this agreement. Castlereagh said that the tsar wanted a compromise between Louis XVIII and the claimants.<sup>61</sup> It has now

<sup>58</sup> Denon to Talleyrand, quoted in Saunier, p. 114; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 201–202.

<sup>59</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 12–14.

<sup>60</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 206.

<sup>61</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 12–14.

been found, however, that the tsar had secretly purchased from Napoleon's relatives a number of valuable paintings for the Hermitage. He had received, by gift or purchase from Josephine, the valuable Vatican cameo of Ptolemy and Arsinoë.<sup>62</sup> He would not wish for a restoration under these circumstances.

The Vienna agreement confirmed the work already in progress. During the last two weeks of September, the Louvre was the scene of wrangling between the director and the military, while the Dutch, Belgians, Austrians, and the agents for some of the Italian cities took down, packed, and removed their treasures. Denon wrote to the minister of the household on September 21, "The English and the Prussians are at the moment in command of the Museum. Austria, their ally, may join them in ruining it." An aide-de-camp of General Müffling, military governor of Paris, had been sent there on September 18, two British generals had had to accompany the Belgian commissioners the same day, and on September 19, General Müffling himself had arrived with his staff and had posted sentries at the door. On the twentieth, "a considerable number of soldiers with three officers" arrived and posted sentries in the galleries of the museum.<sup>63</sup> The guard became permanent, and England, Prussia, and Austria took turns in this duty. There are several angry references in Denon's letters to the attempts of the commissioners to work at night, probably to avoid trouble from the Paris mob. In a letter of October 1, Castlereagh said,

The Prussians are very sore about the Louvre. The Austrians were driven from their work the night before last by the Duke of Luxemburg and the Garde du Corps. But being thus justified in laying aside delicacy, they worked by day, under the protection of a strong force, and have safely removed the Venetian horses from the front of the Tuileries.<sup>64</sup>

According to Denon, several efforts had been made to get the famous bronze horses down from the top of the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel in the Tuileries gardens, and the process took the better part of a week. The populace was angry and excited and so were the police, as for some time no one suspected what the Austrians were doing in the gardens. All the Austrian troops had to be called out to police the neighborhood while laborers worked to get the horses down.<sup>65</sup> The London *Courier* published, on October 3, a letter from Paris describing the affair.

<sup>62</sup> Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 829. See page 459, below.

<sup>63</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>1</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 115-18, 132.

<sup>64</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 39.

<sup>65</sup> Denon's report, Archives des Musées Nationaux, MS. Registre Supplémentaire (1797-1817), pp. 228 ff., quoted in Saunier, pp. 140-42.

I just now find that the Austrians are taking down the bronze horses from the Arch. The whole court of the Tuileries, and the Place de Caroussel are filled with Austrian infantry and cavalry under arms; no person is allowed to approach; the troops on guard amount to several thousands; there are crowds of French in all the avenues leading to it who give vent to their feelings by shouts and execrations. . . . The pillar will also be taken down. The number of cannon on the bridges has been increased. There is in circulation here a letter, in manuscript, addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Lord Castlereagh justifying the removal of the pictures and statues, and declaring this was expressly declared to have been the intention of the Allies, though not expressed in the Convention.

Despite all the trouble, the Austrians, Belgians, Dutch, and some Italian cities got back their possessions, and Spain was able to get one more painting, a Murillo supposedly presented voluntarily by the city of Seville to Marshal Soult. He had a famous collection of Murillos, but he evidently presented this one to the Louvre in order to keep out of trouble himself.<sup>66</sup>

The sculptor Canova came to Paris on August 28 to get back the treasures of the Vatican and the Roman museums. There is a French story that he came under the pretext of a commission to do a portrait of Tsar Alexander and that his papal mission was a secret one.<sup>67</sup> The French continued to think that the evil genius of the whole restoration effort was Hamilton, whom they believed to be involved in all sorts of intrigue. We know that Hamilton was acting under orders from his government, which considered him particularly useful in this affair because of his friendship with Canova. If there was any intrigue, or if Canova's mission was secret, Castlereagh at least knew all about it on September 11, when he wrote Lord Liverpool in London suggesting a plan of action:

Mr. Hamilton who is intimate with Canova, the celebrated artist expressly sent here by the Pope with a letter to the King, to reclaim what was taken from Rome, distinctly ascertained from him that the Pope, if successful, neither could nor would, as Pope, sell any of the chefs-d'oeuvres that belonged to the See, and in which he has, in fact, only a life interest. The French, when they plundered the Vatican, ignorantly brought away some works of little or no value. These Canova has authority either to cede to the King, or to sell, to facilitate the return of the more valuable objects; but it is quite clear that no sum of money could secure to the Prince Regent any distinguished works from His Holiness' collection. . . . In taking, therefore, the disinterested line, we have in fact made no real sacrifice, whilst we shall escape odium and misrepresentation; and if, through the weight of the Prince Regent's interference, the Pope should ultimately recover his property, his Royal Highness would probably feel it more consistent with his munificence to give this old man a small sum out of the French contribution, to carry home his gallery, than to see him exposed to the reproach of selling the refuse, without strict right to do so, in order to replace what is really valuable in the Vatican.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Buchanan, II, 265; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 203; Saunier, p. 134.

<sup>67</sup> Denon to Talleyrand, quoted by Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 423-24.

<sup>68</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, XI, 12-14.

The French believed the British had an ulterior motive. Denon said so to Talleyrand on September 15<sup>69</sup> and left a record of a conversation he had with Hamilton, to prove his point.<sup>70</sup> Hamilton had visited the museum before the removals began, and had discussed with Denon the wisdom of assembling such a large collection in one place. When Hamilton raised this question, Denon told him that he talked like a schoolboy just out of Oxford. Hamilton remarked that the museum had not caused the French to produce either a Titian or a Raphael. Denon replied that such men fall from heaven and that France at least had a good school of artists, whereas other places at the time had only isolated workers. Hamilton then remarked that Paris was too dissipated a city to become a center for study, as the museum was too near the Palais Royal, which at that time was the center of prostitution in Paris. Denon replied with the observation that it ill became an Englishman to criticize the morals of Paris when every street in London afforded scenes worse than anything which occurred under the galleries of the Palais Royal. After a few more bitter words, Hamilton remarked that the British were not jealous of the Paris museum. He himself preferred, he said, the British Museum, which had the advantage of being their own property, whereas the Paris museum belonged to persons there at the moment to reclaim their possessions. This report, which has been used by all French writers on the subject,<sup>71</sup> combined with a widely circulated story, also reported by Denon, had much to do with French suspicions then and later. The other story was a rumor that the pope had promised the prince regent to give him the Apollo Belvedere, if Britain would help him get his other treasures.<sup>72</sup> The excitement in Paris had reached a high pitch as evidenced by a letter from a Paris correspondent published in the *Courier* of October 2.

The public mind of Paris still continues in a state of extreme agitation; the people appear every day more and more exasperated against the Allies. . . . The stripping of the Louvre is the chief cause of public irritation at present; . . . the long gallery of the Museum presents the strongest possible image of desolation; here and there a few pictures giving greater effect to the disfigured nakedness of the walls. I have seen several French Ladies in passing along the galleries suddenly break into extravagant fits of rage and lamentation; they gather round the *Apollo* to take their last farewell, with a most romantic enthusiasm; there is so much passion in their looks, their language and their sighs, in the presence of this monument of human genius, that a person unacquainted with their character or accustomed to study the character of the fair sex in England, where feeling is con-

<sup>69</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 423.

<sup>70</sup> Arch. Musées Nationaux, MS. Reg. Sup., pp. 282 ff., quoted by de Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII, 114, and in Saunier, pp. 136-39.

<sup>71</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 424; de Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII.

<sup>72</sup> Saunier, p. 160.



trolled by perpetual discipline, would be disposed to pronounce them literally mad—not the least of their griefs is the report that the *Apollo* goes to England. The *Venus de Medicis* was removed yesterday.

Great interest was aroused in London by these reports, and on October 4, the *Courier* commented on the news from Paris as follows:

The groups in public places have of late increased in numbers and boldness. The removal of the articles of Art has afforded an occasion for bringing them together, and an opportunity of venting their resentment against the Allies. Upwards of 1800 pictures and other articles are said to have been removed from the Louvre. When the *Venus* was put into the cart on Monday, Sir T. Lawrence, Mr. Chantry and Canova burst into tears; but a German officer who stood by kissed her and laughed at them. When the last package was put into the cart the French mob collected round the door, hissed and G-d d-d the English troops who at the moment were on guard at the door, just as if the pictures were going to be sent to England. The *Venus de Medicis* is said to be dispatched to Florence. There is great talk of the *Apollo Belvedere* being destined for the Prince Regent, but we believe his Royal Highness's sentiments are far too dignified to accept a present which would but too generally be deemed as a bribe. The political conduct which he has pursued has been in entire coincidence with the manly and honourable feelings of the nation whose grand object was to re-establish the principles of justice. . . . A thousand Apollos would be a poor compensation for the loss of that high character which Great Britain has maintained. The accident of employing British troops to seize the Flemish picture in the Louvre, has had injurious consequences in the state of the public mind towards England. The Duke of Wellington has explained that his sending a guard of the 53d regiment to the Louvre on the requisition of General Muffling was an accident which he neither could nor sought to avoid. It happened to be the turn of the English to provide the guard for that day and the Duke had no discretion.

On October 1, Castlereagh announced that on the previous day, Austria, Prussia, and England had agreed to support Canova's efforts.<sup>73</sup> In addition to the statues and pictures obtained by Canova, the valuable Vatican manuscripts were secured through the efforts of Marino Marini, nephew of the Vatican librarian who had gone to Paris with the collection and had died there during the Hundred Days. He also got the type of the Polyglot Press, seized by Napoleon in the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith in Rome, at least as much of it as was left, for Napoleon had sent some of it to Egypt.<sup>74</sup> Extracts of letters from Canova in Paris to a friend in London were published in the *Courier* on October 16:

The cause of the Fine Arts is at length safe in port; and it is to the generous and unremitted exertions of the British Minister, that Rome will be indebted for thus triumphing in the demands I came hither to make in her name [Sept. 31].

We are at last beginning to drag forth from this great cavern of stolen goods

<sup>73</sup> Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 39.

<sup>74</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon*, IV, 24; V, 160, 255; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 436; Arthur Christian, *Débuts de l'imprimerie en France* (Paris, 1905), p. 103.

the precious objects of Art taken from Rome. On the 2nd instant, amongst many fine Paintings that were removed, we noticed that stupendous production, the *Transfiguration*, the *Communion of St. Jerome*, the *Virgin of Fuligno*; the next day several other exquisite pictures came away together with the groupe of *Cupid and Psyche*, the *Two Brutus*’, the very ancient bust of *Ajax*, and other no less precious objects of sculpture. Yesterday the *Dying Gladiator* left his French abode and the *Torso*. We removed this day the two first statues of the world, the *Apollo* and the *Laocoon* [Oct. 5].

The most valuable of them are to go by land, and will set off next week, accompanied by the celebrated Venetian Horses, and all other precious articles belonging to Lombardy, Piedmont, and Tuscany. The convoy will be escorted by strong detachments of Austrian troops. The remainder, which may belong to Rome, will be embarked and sent by sea to Italy [Oct. 9].

How successful were the restorations? It is difficult to say. Many articles were damaged and even lost. Others, sent to the provinces or otherwise disposed of, were difficult or impossible to reclaim. Some of the paintings had been “restored” during their sojourn in Paris. The original owners claimed that the job had been badly done and that the pictures had become worthless as a result. This was particularly true of two Corregios from the gallery at Cassel, “Jupiter and Io” and “Jupiter and Leda.” The “Leda” they said, had a completely new head and a bad one at that. The French replied that the “son of the Regent” had done it in a fit of false modesty and that the French were obviously not responsible.<sup>75</sup> There was only one possible prince regent at the time; he had no legitimate son, and I have been unable to find any reference to an illegitimate son. Possibly one of the regent’s brothers was the offender, but it is more likely that the whole tale was false since there are no references to it in the correspondence of Castlereagh or other members of the delegation.

The winged lion from St. Mark’s in Venice had been placed on a fountain in the Esplanade des Invalides. When the workmen attempted to remove it, it was dropped, and broke in a thousand pieces, much to the delight of the jeering mob.<sup>76</sup> Some Italian primitives were seriously damaged during the journey to Paris.<sup>77</sup> The enormous canvas of Paul Veronese, the “Marriage at Cana,” had been torn in two during the journey from Venice to Paris, and it had been restored in such a way as to make it even more difficult to move. In fact, Napoleon had ordered it moved on the occasion of his marriage to Marie Louise and was so much annoyed at the difficulty that he had angrily ordered it burned—the orders were of course ignored. But it could

<sup>75</sup> Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 710.

<sup>76</sup> Clara A. L. Herpin [Lucien Perey, pseud.], ed., *Memoires d’une grande dame; la comtesse Potocka* (Paris, 1890), II, 479; London *Courier*, Oct. 4, 1815.

<sup>77</sup> Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 303.

not be returned to Venice, at least the Austrians were convinced that this was the case, and a painting by Lebrun was accepted as a substitute.<sup>78</sup>

Several pieces of sculpture were considered too cumbersome and expensive to move. Canova agreed to give up the *Tiber*, the *Melpomene* and some others for this reason.<sup>79</sup> He also gave up a colossal marble statue of Napoleon in the nude, which he had himself executed in Rome and which Napoleon had brought to Paris at enormous expense. The nudity of the statue had annoyed everyone, including Napoleon, but now for the first time it had great value as a souvenir. It was sold to the English, along with a collection of souvenirs of Napoleon which they were buying up in Paris. The statue was finally acquired by the duke of Wellington, and installed in his London house, where, to the disgust of French visitors of a later day, it was ingloriously hidden away in a rear hall where servants propped up bicycles against it.<sup>80</sup>

One large group, the *Quadriga*, brought from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin to adorn Napoleon's projected "Temple of Victory," was successfully recovered and taken back to Berlin.<sup>81</sup>

Some paintings were completely lost. The Prussians claimed that two valuable canvases, Rubens' "Diogenes," and Jordaens' "The King Drinks," were taken by the French, who claim to know nothing about them.<sup>82</sup> They have never been found. One of the many risks encountered in the course of the restorations is suggested by the report of the Belgian commissioners to a museum official that an unidentified foreigner had offered them ten thousand francs to steal a certain painting, the money to be paid as soon as the painting was out of the building.<sup>83</sup>

Both the original owners and the director of the museum had tried to deceive those who came to get the treasures. The Vatican librarian had succeeded in temporarily hiding from Napoleon's commissioners some of the most valuable manuscripts in his care, including some with gold seals, the original acts of the Council of Trent, and the *Liber Diurnus*, all scheduled for confiscation, and eventually taken when the fraud was discovered.<sup>84</sup> More successful was the fraud apparently perpetrated in connection with Raphael's "Virgin of Loreto." It was displayed in Rome before being shipped. When

<sup>78</sup> Report of Denon, Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>8</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 169-71; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 292-93.

<sup>79</sup> Saunier, p. 152; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 429.

<sup>80</sup> Apsley to Bathurst, and Hamilton to Bathurst, Bathurst Papers, pp. 372-73, 383-85; Saunier, pp. 151-52; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 426-27; Baedeker, *London* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 178-79.

<sup>81</sup> Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 281.

<sup>82</sup> Saunier, p. 89.

<sup>83</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>8</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 119.

<sup>84</sup> Delisle, in *Jour. des savants*, 1892, pp. 429-41, 489-501.

the crate arrived in Paris, it contained only an inferior and damaged copy.<sup>85</sup> In turn, Denon tried every possible trick on the owners who came to reclaim their property. When the king of Sardinia "removed with extreme violence" a masterpiece of Giulio Romano, which Denon claimed was not a confiscation but a free gift from the city of Genoa to France, he attempted, apparently without success, to have it seized by the French customs as it left the country.<sup>86</sup> On another occasion, when the Prussians claimed that two pictures listed as returned to them, were not in the crates when opened, Denon said that both had been listed erroneously, and could not have been sent, since they were not in Paris. One, which was at Strasbourg, he would order sent on to them immediately; the other, at Compiègne, he would try to have replaced at Compiègne by something else and sent on.<sup>87</sup>

During the negotiations with the Dutch about the paintings taken from Antwerp, Denon wrote the ambassador, pointing out that Napoleon had spent enormous sums of money on the port of Antwerp and the French could at least expect to keep the paintings in partial reimbursement.<sup>88</sup> This trick, of course, did not work.

There was a bitter quarrel about the set of marble pillars which Napoleon had removed from the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Prussians got back those which had not been taken out of storage, but there were ten which had been used in the Gallery of Apollo, and the guidebooks show them today in the Salle Auguste and the Salle de la Paix.<sup>89</sup> Wherever they were, Denon did nothing about the removal of these pillars. Von Ribbentropp threatened to send soldiers to take them down, but he did not want to accept responsibility for the collapse of the vaulted roof which the pillars supported; otherwise he would doubtless have seized them as he did the paintings and sculpture. Denon protested frantically, and the Prussian king himself finally relented. If we can trust an attested copy in the Archives Nationales,<sup>90</sup> Frederick William wrote Denon on August 23, 1815, agreeing to allow the ten columns to remain, provided that the other columns and the Proserpine sarcophagus, which had been taken at the same time, be sent back immediately. This he did, he said, in part out of concern for monuments and a wish not to interfere with their preservation and partly in recognition of Denon's devotion to his work. In 1845, duplicates were finally made and installed in place of the original pillars at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 483.

<sup>86</sup> Arch. Musées Nationaux, MS. Reg. Sup., pp. 228 ff., quoted in Saunier, p. 142.

<sup>87</sup> Letter of Denon, quoted by Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 711.

<sup>88</sup> Saunier, p. 125.

<sup>89</sup> Hourticq, p. 172. There appear to have been twelve columns, instead of the ten agreed upon.

<sup>90</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>3</sup> 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 111.

<sup>91</sup> Baedeker, *The Rhine*, p. 5.

One of the worst difficulties involved in the restoration was the distribution of the confiscated articles throughout France, and even outside France. Of the two hundred paintings taken from Belgium, only thirty were in Paris museums, and the rest had been sent to eighteen different French cities by Napoleon.<sup>92</sup> Some French paintings had been sent to Brussels and Amsterdam, where Napoleon wished to maintain museums, and these the French demanded back before undertaking to restore their own to them.<sup>93</sup>

The French were very bitter about the restoration of the treasures. They echoed the attitude expressed by Stendhal in connection with the return of one group to Italy. He said, "The Allies have *taken* eleven hundred fifty pictures. I hope I may be permitted to observe that we acquired them *by a treaty, that of Tolentino*. . . . On the other hand, the Allies have taken our pictures, *without treaty*."<sup>94</sup> In other words, the French acquisitions were legalized by treaties; the allied seizures were confiscations.

Nothing could be done about articles which had been sold, and in some cases important items were involved. One case, that of the collection of Empress Josephine, illustrates all too well the problems faced under such circumstances. Josephine was fond of jewelry; in fact she collected luxury articles of all sorts, from jewelry to paintings. She had been required to return diamonds, silver, linen, and furniture, as crown property, at the time of the divorce, but at the time of her death she still possessed diamonds and other jewels valued at nearly two million francs, and paintings, silver, *objets d'art*, and laces valued at over half a million.<sup>95</sup> Many of these seem to have been acquired through confiscation. Denon wrote to Daru in 1807, "I had the honor of replying [to Josephine] that, in my desire to serve her, I always took, in addition to the paintings I was ordered to seize, a number of pretty little things . . . which . . . the Emperor would be delighted to give her."<sup>96</sup> While at Potsdam that same year, he seized some carved gems. "Everything found and brought to Paris was put in a small box . . . and sent by Napoleon's order, to Mme. Bonaparte, for her to make a choice . . . she selected some rings and small cameos which she gave to the ladies of her court, and sent the rest on to the Museum."<sup>97</sup> When the Prussians claimed their jewels in 1814 and 1815, 461 articles are said to have been returned, and 76 missing since coming into Josephine's possession.<sup>98</sup> Paintings had been hung in various palaces, but Josephine's favorite palace, Malmaison, which was her private

<sup>92</sup> Saunier, p. 25.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>94</sup> Henri Beyle, *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* (Paris, 1868), p. 413.

<sup>95</sup> Walter Geer, *Napoleon and His Family*, III (New York, 1929), 388.

<sup>96</sup> Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 316.

<sup>97</sup> Arch. Nat., MS. O<sup>8</sup> 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

property, contained an especially fine collection. Its most famous contents were the pictures brought from Cassel in 1806, forty-eight according to the records, but only thirty-six were admitted by Josephine to have arrived, the others being lost. Napoleon later ordered Denon to take these paintings to the Louvre, but he never succeeded in getting them, as Josephine insisted that they had been given her as an outright gift.<sup>99</sup> When the Hessians went to Malmaison in 1815 to get their paintings from the heirs of Josephine, they were told that the finest pieces in the collection had been sold to Tsar Alexander for 940,000 francs.<sup>100</sup> It is not clear whether this had happened just before or just after her death on May 29, 1814. The tsar refused to give them up, and many of them adorn the Hermitage in Leningrad today.<sup>101</sup> This remarkable coup explains the tsar's stubborn refusals to join his allies in their efforts to return art treasures to the original owners. Hortense is said to have sold thirty paintings to Tsar Nicholas I in 1829, but the provenance of these is not clear.<sup>102</sup> Some may have been the remains of her mother's gallery. And as early as 1814, the king of Bavaria wrote Denon to ask about the sale of the Malmaison pictures.<sup>103</sup> Whether it was known that they were for sale and he wished to buy, or whether he had heard of the tsar's negotiations and was protecting the interests of his daughter and her husband, Eugene de Beauharnais, Josephine's son, we do not know.

Some of the finest galleries in Europe contain paintings which were purchased in Paris at this time. The Glyptothek of Munich consisted at first almost entirely of articles from the confiscated collection of the Villa Albani, purchased in Paris. The treasures of the Giustiniani gallery found their way to Prussia, also via Paris.<sup>104</sup> Others went to England, and the Leningrad collection has already been mentioned. As a dispersal of art treasures, no previous upheaval could rival it in quantity, at least during a similar period of time. It remains to be seen whether the present war will prove to have had a still more disastrous effect.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>101</sup> Baedeker, *Russia* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 144, lists the most important items.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Saunier, p. 72.

<sup>104</sup> Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 485; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, XVII, 438.

<sup>105</sup> For an account of the recent status of archives and libraries in conquered countries, see Ernst Posner, "Public Records under Military Occupation," *American Historical Review*, XLIX (Jan., 1944), 213-27, and Francis H. Taylor, "The Rape of Europa," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXV (Jan., 1945), 52-58.



# Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of Western America

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY\*

IN the historiography of western America no name is writ larger than Hubert Howe Bancroft. He was the first determined collector of the materials on this half continent and the first to undertake to chronicle its history comprehensively and exhaustively. The library that he established is the chief depository of such materials and for a generation has been the area's fountainhead of historical research. Similarly the thirty-nine massive volumes of his *Works* stand today, a full half century after their publication, as the fundamental reference on this vast subject matter and the best reference on a good fraction of the topics which comprise it. Basic to these achievements he had a long career as an individual and a businessman reasonably representative of the West in the gold rush and post gold rush generations.

Despite these claims to fame Bancroft has never had a biographer. In a volume entitled *Literary Industries*, published in 1890, he put on record a partial narrative of his life and in *Retrospection* in 1912 he added a few other particulars. There have been fragmentary comments about his collecting, about the launching of his first book, about his method of authorship,<sup>1</sup> but no full-scale treatment. The reason, I believe, is twofold. In common with most of us, Bancroft fell short of perfection. Some of his defects were seized upon, and it came to be the fashion to disparage him not only for these shortcomings but in all that he had done. The result was to becloud his eligibility for biographical attention. An even greater deterrent was the bulk of his published works. These include not only the seven and a half foot row of *Native Races* and *History of the Pacific States*, but three other sets, a number of individual books, and a sheaf of pamphlets—in all some sixty-odd volumes, the majority of them solid and weighty.<sup>2</sup> Their ponderousness tended to ward

\*A paper read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at St. Louis on April 20, 1944. The author is associate professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles.

<sup>1</sup>For example, Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1941), pp. 96-102; Oscar Lewis, "The Launching of Bancroft's 'Native Races,'" *Colophon*, new style, I (1936), 323-32; William A. Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications: A History of a History," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, IV (1903), 287-364; Rockwell D. Hunt, "Hubert Howe Bancroft: His Work and His Method," *Historical Society of Southern California, Publications*, VIII (1911), 158-73.

<sup>2</sup>Principal among his published works are the following: *Native Races* (5 vols., New York, 1874-75), reissued with *History of the Pacific States* (28 vols.) and with six supplementary vol-

off prospective biographers and, it must be admitted, considerably retarded the present writer.

In his eighty-five years Bancroft was, among other things, businessman, publisher, collector, historian, essayist, and philosopher. Self-made and largely self-tutored, in each of these lines he was a pioneer, breaking new ground. His life thus was complex as well as long, not easily encompassed at book length, much less in a brief paper.

Bancroft was born in 1832 at Granville, Ohio, an offshoot and a transplanting of Puritan New England. His schooling stopped short of college, and at sixteen he began clerking in a Buffalo bookstore. In 1852, as a belated Argonaut, he went to California, experimented as miner, teamster, and clerk, and wound up with six or eight thousand dollars. A trip back east to the States made him homesick for California, and in 1856 he went west again and opened a bookstore in San Francisco. The beginning was simple. It was a one-salesman shop, and the proprietor acted as nightwatchman, janitor, and general handyman. Yet within a few years it became San Francisco's leading book mart, and for a generation it continued to be the foremost institution of its kind west of Chicago, employing more than three hundred persons, overflowing a five-story building, and active in book publishing and job printing as well as in merchandising.<sup>3</sup>

So prosperous was the business that Bancroft could travel extensively and in his late thirties could think seriously of retiring. Actually he did not sever his connections with business, but he began to give his chief attention to the pursuit of history.

Somewhat earlier—in 1859, to be precise—he had begun to collect Californiana.<sup>4</sup> Gradually his search widened to a world-wide canvass for materials on the western half of North America from Panama to Alaska. In this search he had the good fortune to be first in the field. Yet the real basis of his suc-

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umes as the *Works* (39 vols., San Francisco, 1882-90); *Chronicles of the Builders* (7 vols. and index, San Francisco, 1891-92); *The Book of the Fair* (5 vols., Chicago and San Francisco, 1893); *The Book of Wealth* (10 vols., New York, 1896-1908); *Vida de Porfirio Díaz* (San Francisco, 1887); *A Popular History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887); *Resources and Development of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1893); *The New Pacific* (New York, 1899); *Retrospection, Political and Personal* (New York, 1912); *History of Mexico* (New York, 1914); and *In These Latter Days* (Chicago, 1917).

<sup>3</sup> The chief source on Bancroft's early career is his *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 47-167, wherein the rise of the business house is likewise described. On the latter point see also "A. L. Bancroft & Co.," *Pacific Printer*, June, 1877, and "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House," *Printers World*, March, 1881.

<sup>4</sup> On his collecting consult *Literary Industries*, *passim*, but especially pp. 168-217, 365-445, 468-561, and 618-49; his "Journal While in Europe, 1866-1867," a 240-page manuscript in the Bancroft Library; [Hubert Howe Bancroft], *The Bancroft Historical Library* (San Francisco, 1886); [*id.*], *Evolution of a Library* (n.p., [1901]); and Reuben Gold Thwaites, "Report on the Bancroft Library," *University [of California] Chronicle*, VIII (1905-1906), 126-43.

cess lay in his philosophy of collecting. He believed in collecting for content rather than for externals of format. He believed in sweeping in every item that seemed to have even slight bearing on his subject. He had high regard for newspapers, and this before most historians had discovered them. He went after manuscripts, preferring the originals but if necessary resorting to copies and abstracts. He created historical materials by taking dictations from hundreds of pioneers and old-timers. He argued, oftentimes successfully, that it was a patriotic service to put materials in his collection. He was a sturdy beggar and a good borrower, but he drew heavily on his financial resources to buy from dealers, out of catalogues, and at auctions. At the time of its sale to the University of California, Reuben Gold Thwaites appraised the collection at more than \$300,000.<sup>5</sup> It has since appreciated in value at least tenfold; and Director Herbert E. Bolton has said that with \$10,000,000 and twenty years in which to spend it the collection could not be duplicated or satisfactorily replaced.<sup>6</sup>

As his library grew, Bancroft felt repeated urges to make some use of it. He considered publishing selected original narratives. He toyed with the idea of a Pacific states cyclopedia. He also thought of establishing a newspaper patterned after but improving upon the London *Times*. Fortunately his decision took another direction. In his words, "I would strike at once for the highest, brightest mark before me. . . . History-writing I conceived to be among the highest of human occupations, and this should be my choice."<sup>7</sup>

He was never in doubt about what history to undertake. It would be that of his field of collecting, the Pacific states, a modest one twelfth of the earth's land surface. He proposed, furthermore, a straightforward, frontal, factual attack upon this vast subject matter. He would attempt comprehensive and exhaustive treatment and leave philosophical theorizing to others. In freshness and in significance his opportunity as a historian was even more magnificent than as a collector.

From the outset he realized that he was undertaking more than any one man could do. In businesslike fashion he therefore hired assistants, employing first and last some six hundred persons to help in the production of his works. After much experimenting and at an outlay of \$35,000 he devised a subject index to his entire collection. More than twice this amount went into abstracting and note-taking. Going still further, he set some of his men to writing first drafts, and the less revision required, the better he liked it. Theoretically he made himself responsible for all that went finally into

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> In conversation with the writer.

<sup>7</sup> Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, pp. 228-29.

print, and in practice he did this sufficiently so that his 30,000-page, 12,000,000-word opus has unity of design and method and character. Oftentimes his personal contact was slight, for example with the chapters he read on the cable car between his library and his printery, yet the thirty-nine volumes are an integrated whole.<sup>8</sup>

When it came to promoting and marketing his works Bancroft was equally the businessman. Before releasing his first volume, he took proof sheets in hand and made a tour of New England and the eastern states, buttonholing Parkman, Lowell, Palfrey, Whittier, Emerson, Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Godkin, Higginson, and other arbiters of opinion to make clear to them the merits of his achievement. As reviewer for the *Overland Monthly* he personally selected Daniel Coit Gilman, president of the University of California, and when the review turned out to be "flabby" he tore up the manuscript and referred the editors to J. Ross Browne, then probably California's best-known writer. To avoid further mishap, Browne's review, a glowing tribute, was written for him by a member of Bancroft's staff.<sup>9</sup> All things considered, it is not surprising that this book got a rousing sendoff. "Never probably," Bancroft observed, "was a book so generally and so favorably reviewed by the best journals in Europe and America. Never was an author more suddenly or more thoroughly brought to the attention of learned and literary men everywhere."<sup>10</sup>

Foreseeing no likelihood that the ordinary channels of the book trade would provide a market for his voluminous works, Bancroft decided to be his own publisher and to sell the set by subscription. The campaign was carefully engineered. Canvassers were schooled in interviewing and selling, and the way was skillfully prepared for them through newspaper publicity, pamphlets and prospectuses, and letters of introduction.<sup>11</sup> The sales program roused some animosity. In the Prickly Pear Valley in Montana, for example, there was a mass meeting of disgruntled subscribers;<sup>12</sup> and, in San Francisco, Leland Stanford, who out of civic pride had agreed to take forty sets, lived to repent his generosity.<sup>13</sup> By subscription selling, however, Bancroft made this

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft's own description of his literary workshop and method appears in *Literary Industries*, pp. 230-76, 562-617. See also Henry L. Oak, "Literary Industries" in a *New Light* (San Francisco, 1893), and Morris, in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, IV.

<sup>9</sup> Oak, p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, p. 361; or, as a modern writer has paraphrased it, "No budding historian before or since ever launched his maiden effort with a greater splash," Lewis, in *Colophon*, new style, I, 327.

<sup>11</sup> See in particular [Nathan J. Stone], *Information for Agents to Assist in Selling the Works of Hubert H. Bancroft* (n.p., n.d.).

<sup>12</sup> Reported in the Helena, Montana, *Daily Independent*, October 14, 1885, and the Bozeman, Montana, *Weekly Avant Courier*, May 13, 1886.

<sup>13</sup> George T. Clark, "Leland Stanford and H. H. Bancroft's 'History,' a Bibliographical Curiosity," *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers*, XXVII (1933), 12-23.

gargantuan publishing venture pay, made it yield a profit of something like half a million dollars. What is more important, he got enough of his books into circulation so that, though out of print for fifty years, the set has never been rare, but has been readily available to every library and every user wanting it. This is the real triumph of his marketing program.

The *Works* fall into four main divisions. The first five volumes are an excursion into anthropology wherein are tabulated all the facts that Bancroft and his staff could find recorded about the native races of the Pacific states. Anthropology has since become a science and, through utilizing archaeology and field work among living Indians, has corrected and extended the Bancroft description of the western Indians. But for its day, the 1870's, *Native Races* represents a creditable achievement, particularly interesting in its matter-of-fact, reportorial approach and in its tribal groupings, which approximate today's accepted culture areas.

Another segment, consisting of almost a score of volumes, relates the history of Spanish North America (Florida and Louisiana omitted). The organization is regional, with three volumes on Central America, six on Mexico, two on the north Mexican states and Texas, and so on. The treatment increases in exhaustiveness with progression northwestward and culminates in the five volumes devoted to California as a province under Spain and Mexico. Chiefly by resort to the archives of Spain and Mexico, which were neglected by Bancroft and all his contemporaries, this generation's scholars have remedied the Bancroft account through a series of spot studies and monographs. No one, however, has undertaken to redo the entire job, and Bancroft remains the largest and the basic contributor to the history of Spanish North America.

As historian of California his pre-eminence is even greater. This was where his library was richest and where he saw the climax of development in the Pacific states. To California's history, therefore, he allotted seven volumes, supplemented by two volumes of social analysis, *California Pastoral* and *California Inter Pocula*, and two, *Popular Tribunals*, on the history of vigilance. In recent years this field has been cultivated by a host of professional and amateur researchers. Yet our aggregate knowledge of California history derives less from these scholars than from Bancroft. Eventually the moderns must excel; theirs is the advantage of scientific training, of access to and recognition of the treasures in Hispanic archives, and of eligibility to investigate the remarkable growth of the state since 1890. Yet to date, the cumulative results of their efforts have not matched, let alone surpassed, Bancroft's contribution as historian of California.

Another nine volumes cover, almost as thoroughly, the Rocky Mountain and northwestern states from Nevada, Utah, and Colorado to Alaska. These volumes are less even, less exhaustive, and less happily organized, yet the persevering reader will get a detailed picture of the forces that went into the making of these ten states. Again, no modern writer has undertaken a re-appraisal of this entire subject, and no one has essayed, on a like scale, to bridge the gap between the 1880's and the present. Here is another vast field of regional history where Bancroft stands alone.

As supplement to his histories Bancroft announced a set of biographies, the *Kings of the Commonwealth*, which before publication he toned down to *Chronicles of the Builders*. Following these seven volumes came two other subscription works, *The Book of the Fair* and *The Book of Wealth*, in five and ten volumes. The two latter are not of special interest except as examples of sumptuous bookmaking. The *Chronicles* were both better and worse. Together with supporting essays on such topics as agriculture, mining, and railroads, they presented biographies of some one hundred men, examples of the more successful bankers, lawyers, farmers, tradesmen, and industrialists who had built the West. These were men so much like Bancroft that in a sense he was writing variations on his own biography. Selection unfortunately was on a fee basis, the fees ranging from \$500 to \$10,000 and the take amounting to some \$219,000.<sup>14</sup> The subscription character of this work put it under a cloud and had the further effect of casting suspicion upon the preceding histories. Intrinsically the *Chronicles* possess real usefulness. Yet it is clear that Bancroft's standing among his contemporaries and in the estimate of the historical profession would have been better if the idea of doing these biographies had never occurred to him.

Despite the magnitude of his achievements Bancroft received for much abuse. When his business house was gutted in a million dollar fire, he ruefully observed that the event was admirably calculated "to confer the greatest pleasure upon the greatest number."<sup>15</sup> Again he remarked that there were hundreds in California who damned him every day.<sup>16</sup> He was one of Ambrose Bierce's favorite targets,<sup>17</sup> and other journalists liked to berate him. A nephew sued him for libel,<sup>18</sup> and his librarian attempted blackmail against him.<sup>19</sup> The Society of California Pioneers also pilloried him. Infuriated by

<sup>14</sup> Harry B. Hamblly, "List of Subscribers to 'Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth,' Stating Amount Subscribed and Paid," October, 1936, MS., Bancroft Library.

<sup>15</sup> Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, p. 777. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>17</sup> In particular see his column in the San Francisco *Examiner*, Jan. 22, 1893.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 19-Oct. 8, 1893.

<sup>19</sup> Henry L. Oak to H. H. Bancroft, Seigler Springs, Apr. 3, 1892, printed in Oak, pp. 66-67.



his findings on Frémont, the Bear Flaggers, and various pioneers—findings which present-day scholarship almost entirely confirms—the society with elaborate formality expelled him from honorary membership.<sup>20</sup> Largely because of this unpopularity the California legislature declined to purchase his library in 1892 and for the same reason the university regents hesitated in 1905. In 1903 and 1911 two papers by professional historians,<sup>21</sup> to date the most extended notices that have been accorded him, renewed the familiar charges, especially that he was not the sole author and, in fact, was not the real author of the volumes called his works.

This issue is far too complicated for satisfactory discussion in brief compass. Perhaps it will suffice here to offer the judgment that Bancroft's failure to credit his helpers, explicitly or semiexplicitly, on the title pages or in the prefaces, was the greatest mistake of his life. On the other hand, the substitution of any single name for his on any of the volumes would have been still more misleading. The question of authorship is the thing harped on in both these articles. Their long-term and cumulative effect has been to belittle Bancroft as a historian and to discredit his *Works*. Illustrative of the tenacity of this idea is the obituary item with which the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* in 1918 took note of his death. The editor was ready to grant that "Mr. Bancroft, the most voluminous of Pacific West historians, may have left a fame more enduring in the long lapse of time than that of any other person who has lived and wrought in this area," but he coupled with it reassertion of the Oregon doctrine that Frances Fuller Victor wrote Bancroft's northwestern volumes.<sup>22</sup>

The reputation of a historian seldom improves after his death. A few classical historians like Herodotus and Thucydides have a current repute that compares favorably with what they enjoyed in their lifetimes. Another few of more recent vintage, including mostly such brilliant literary craftsmen as Gibbon, Prescott, and Parkman, though less widely read today, have retained most of their original luster. More commonly, as new sources are uncovered, new techniques developed, new methods of evaluation devised, and new bases of interpretation discovered, the historians of a bygone era tend to depreciate. The saying is that for each generation history must be re-

<sup>20</sup> Society of California Pioneers, *Misrepresentations of Early California History Corrected: Proceedings of the Society of California Pioneers in regard to Certain Misrepresentations of Men and Events in Early California History Made in the Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Commonly Known as Bancroft's Histories* (San Francisco, 1894).

<sup>21</sup> Morris, in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, IV, and Hunt, in *Hist. Soc. of Southern California, Publications*, VIII.

<sup>22</sup> *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIX (1918), 74-75.

written, and, to a considerable extent, this is what the reading public and the profession have demanded. It is, therefore, a matter of mark that Bancroft has been much more praised, in the quarter century after his death, than he was by his contemporaries.

Henry Morse Stephens, for example, hailed him as "the greatest of a half dozen great American historians, and the only one who had an adequate understanding of the historical West."<sup>23</sup> Charles Edward Chapman asserted that his *Works* "constitute the greatest single achievement in the history of American historiography."<sup>24</sup> The dean of Texas historians describes his *North Mexican States and Texas* as "the most satisfactory comprehensive history of Texas available," and the six volumes on Mexico as "perhaps the best work in its field in either English or Spanish."<sup>25</sup> Bernard DeVoto says, "I cannot imagine anyone's writing about the history of the West without constantly referring to Bancroft."<sup>26</sup> Franklin Walker, in his recent commentary on early California letters, though critical of the obscuration of authorship, praises the collection and the histories, pointing out that the latter "have to date maintained their preeminence as the basic authority on the half continent with which they deal." "One would not go far wrong," he continues, "in asserting that Hubert Howe Bancroft, the frontier bookseller who turned historian, accomplished the greatest feat of historiography since Thucydides."<sup>27</sup>

The explanation of this changed attitude is relatively simple. Time, though not the solvent for all undeserved aspersions, does tend to rectify. In the past quarter century researchers in ever increasing numbers have undertaken investigations of various parts of the Bancroft field. By experience this scholarly army has learned that for its purposes the Bancroft Library is the prime collection of materials, and that the Bancroft volumes are not merely the bulkiest but by all odds the most valuable reference. Thus by pragmatic test, the collection and the set, by proving themselves, have vindicated their creator and won him a belated recognition. Consequently, one who praises Bancroft today is on safer, or at least on more accepted, ground than those who had the wisdom and the courage to do so in the 1890's or in 1918.

Obviously the measure of Bancroft's achievement must be three-dimensional, embracing his work as businessman, as collector, and as historian. In each of these categories it is apparent not only that the fates smiled upon

<sup>23</sup> San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 3, 1918.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), p. 499.

<sup>25</sup> Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville, 1925), pp. 532, 534.

<sup>26</sup> Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston, 1943), p. 525.

<sup>27</sup> Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), pp. 302-15.

him but also that he fully earned his successes. Because of his lack of training and experience, it is doubtless most surprising that he succeeded as a historian. But he discovered a hitherto neglected subject, rich in human interest, which seemed to be the last great chapter in the transit of civilization from Greece and Rome to western Europe, across the Atlantic, and to continent's end on the shores of the Pacific. Wisely he chose to deal with this grand subject in its entirety rather than to be satisfied with the annals of some minor locality. Wisely he surrounded himself with a staff, because the task patently outreached his individual capacity. Wisely he chose to subordinate generalization and moralizing and to concentrate on presentation of ascertained and unadorned facts. It is of such stuff that the thirty thousand pages of the *Works* largely consist. Essentially they are a recital in endless detail of the particulars of Pacific slope history, for California unbelievably complete, for other areas only less so. They are the core around which every library of western history is built, and, though long since out of print, they are the most cited, the most used, and the most followed of all references in the field. In actual practice, therefore, Bancroft is honored above all other historians of western North America.

In the pattern of his career Bancroft may be thought of as the symbol of his generation. Other Westerners were creating businesses and amassing fortunes, some much larger than his. Others, though not so many, were using their wealth to bring cultural improvement to what had been a rough frontier: Adolph Sutro by collecting English pamphlets, Mexican imprints and manuscripts, and early Californiana; James Lick by endowing an observatory; and Leland Stanford by establishing a university. Still others were turning from the entertainment literature that had characterized the gold rush era to attempt more serious, scientific writing. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* is the most famous example, but in the field of history the *Works* would qualify as an equally meritorious contribution. Bancroft's business success thus conformed to the West's economic pattern, his collecting expressed its cultural aspirations, and his publications illustrated its intellectual maturation.

In the fullness of time he may prove to have been the greatest of them all. Already he has eclipsed many of his better publicized contemporaries, including Thomas Starr King and E. D. Baker, the Union orators; William C. Ralston, once called "the man who built San Francisco"; the Big Four; the Kings of the Comstock; and Francis Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, and Ambrose Bierce, once luminaries of considerably greater luster. The prominence of these men was based, it now appears, on a political cause, a bank,

a mere accumulation of wealth, a style in poetry, or some other transitory factor, which, though impressive at the time, in the longer run has diminished or disappeared. Bancroft, on the contrary, in his library and his histories set up durable and viable assurances of lasting and growing recognition. A prodigious historian he certainly was; generations hence he may loom up as the most significant figure that the West has produced.

# Emperor Francis II and the Austrian “Jacobins,” 1792-1796

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM\*

EMPEROR FRANCIS II (Francis I of Austria) abhorred political change. “No,” he once said, refusing some Italian demands for political reform, “every concession is dangerous. Man with his insatiable nature always asks for something more. Give him the hand, and he wants the arm; give him the arm, and he wants the whole body. I do not wish to give them my head.”<sup>1</sup>

This is not to imply, however, that Francis had a clear idea, when he succeeded Leopold II in 1792, of how to exercise his God-given power. He knew, from his father’s comments and from observation, that turmoil and discord had been the most marked results of Emperor Joseph’s revolutionary zeal. He was aware, too, that the sudden departure from this radical system during the final months of Joseph’s reign and the two years of Leopold’s had led to the appearance of numerous inconsistencies and contradictions which left even the ablest jurists in doubt as to the actual state of the laws.

Evidently it was unwise to attempt to restore in two or three years an order which the energetic Joseph, as adviser to Maria Theresa and in his own right, had altered over a period of three decades. But since the government of the Austrian monarchy *was* in a muddle, something ought to be done to bring order out of administrative and legal chaos.

The task was made harder by several conditioning factors. Francis had to bear in mind his additional responsibilities as Holy Roman emperor, both for the sake of the prestige involved and because imperial events had an influence on Austrian foreign relations. Then, the work of resettlement, complicated in time of peace, had to be undertaken amidst twenty-three years of almost uninterrupted warfare against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Finally, the new spirit engendered by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution had definitely made itself felt in Austria, especially among the professional classes and the lesser officials appointed by Joseph. Hence, when the bewildered twenty-four-year-old Francis sought advice from his more experienced elders, he discovered that they were divided into two opposing groups: Josephinians and anti-Josephinians.

\*The author is professor of history in Union College.

<sup>1</sup> Francis to Judge Antonio Salvotti, quoted in Alessandro Luzio, *Antonio Salvotti e i processi del ventuno* (Rome, 1901), p. 129.

The anti-Josephinians sought influence as the Nobles' party (*Adelspartei*). Their leaders thought they discerned "an unmistakable resemblance between the dispositions of Joseph and those of the French Revolutionaries." Therefore they would have preferred to see the Josephinian laws pass into oblivion. Had these "Obscurantists," as they sometimes were called, had their way, the legislation dating from 1760 and even earlier would have been "nullified en masse."<sup>2</sup> The Josephinians comprised the Enlightened party (*Aufklärungs-partei*). Their leaders feared this very reaction and hence were impatient to see a renewal and intensification of Joseph's policies. As the Obscurantists included most of the upper nobility and higher clerics, so the "Jacobins," as their enemies liked to call the reformers, included members of the lower clergy, numerous minor officials, some professional men, and a portion of the country's youth, who chafed for opportunity to rise according to merit rather than birth.<sup>3</sup>

The views of the more moderate elements of both parties bore some resemblance to each other. The better informed and less obstinate among the Nobles were aware that the changes of which they disapproved had come to pass not merely in Austria but, to a greater or lesser extent, in most of the countries on the Continent. They knew, too, that "most of the officials in the middle categories clung to the new ideas," and that this spirit was beginning to manifest itself among certain members of the bourgeoisie in the larger cities. They realized, therefore, that a blanket return to the pre-Josephinian regime would cause a great outcry, and that at a time when all possible unity and strength were needed to combat the military challenge of the new France.

The calmer members of the Enlightened group also believed that rapid change, even in the direction which they favored, would be both difficult and dangerous in view of the confused domestic and tense international situations. Besides, they hoped that the example of French developments and the success of French arms eventually would convince those in authority of the inevitability of liberal reform. Hence both groups of moderates were inclined to a policy of watchful waiting, advocating neither blind reaction nor precipitate reform. This reasoning, on the whole, had the greatest appeal for Francis. He was determined to forestall any radical developments but was equally opposed to an unreasoning return to bygone institutions merely because these were venerable.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ignaz Beidtel, *Geschichte der österreichischen Staatsverwaltung 1740-1848* (Innsbruck, 1896-98), II, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4; Anton H. Springer, *Geschichte Österreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809* (Leipzig, 1863-65), I, 53.



The mass of the people probably had no strong feelings one way or the other. Each group or class wished for certain changes, but these were rarely political in scope. The peasants wanted permission to make pilgrimages to the shrines, as had been the custom before Joseph. The merchants in the cities wished for modifications in the guild system. Most elements would have welcomed changes in the tax setup. But for the rest, the people were loyal to the dynasty and looked to it for protection against oppression by the privileged groups.<sup>5</sup>

In the circumstances, what was needed for the welfare of the state itself, aside from dynastic considerations, was a thorough study of the whole administrative framework by public-spirited experts. Leopold had contemplated some such project but died before doing anything definite about it. Francis made no effort to realize his father's plan, probably because the serious division of opinion among his councillors made him distrustful of all but a handful of intimates—and these not the most intelligent men in the monarchy. Indeed, with the elevation of his former tutor, Count Francis von Colloredo, to the post of chief adviser to the emperor, the idea of any expert survey of political conditions was pushed far into the background.

Colloredo regarded the French Revolution as the work of a small group of self-seeking troublemakers whose machinations, not having been checked by immediate vigorous action, could be ended only by the restoration of the Bourbons. He was convinced, too, that the revolutionaries carried on their subversive activities under the guise of "science" and "enlightenment." Hence he looked with disfavor upon intellectuals as a group and was suspicious of all but the most conservative lawyers, journalists, and political thinkers. His ideal was to maintain the political *status quo*, through strict censorship if necessary. And to this ideal, *quieta non movere*, he and his supporters were able to win the emperor.

Because Colloredo's opinions and influence were well known, many of the liberal minor officials thought it wise to cover up their philosophical principles. Though they apparently did not succeed in hoodwinking Francis, they were able to retain some of their Josephinian views, profess loyalty and devotion to the sovereign, and keep their jobs. But they did substitute the word "culture" for the word "enlightenment," and began to speak pointedly of "social welfare" rather than "social reform." This official jockeying, often hypocritical, further undermined administrative unity.

The confusion was increased, finally, through Francis' wish that his officials speak their minds freely and thus present the several sides of any

<sup>5</sup> Beidtel, II, 5.

question.<sup>6</sup> As a result, he received many conflicting recommendations and proposals, which made him more and more uncertain about his final decisions. In sheer desperation he often postponed settlements and thus himself hampered the administrative efficiency which he so much desired.<sup>7</sup>

In this political atmosphere the Viennese police in the summer of 1794 announced the discovery of a "Jacobin conspiracy" to overthrow the monarchy and convert it into a republic on the French model. This news set Francis' mind in a political mold which remained rigid for the rest of his life. Thereafter, "the spectre of revolution" (*Revolutionsgespenst*) never ceased to haunt the monarch.<sup>8</sup> And thus it happened that the chief reminder of Joseph's reforming days, zealously fostered even under Francis, was the institution of an all-powerful police.<sup>9</sup>

Following his late father's advice to keep a sharp lookout for suspicious characters and subversive publications, Francis, on January 3, 1793, established a new state authority called the *Polizeihofstelle* or Police Bureau. Count John Anthony von Pergen (1725-1814), who as chief of police under Joseph and Leopold from 1782-1791 had been identified with the origins of the Austrian secret police, became head of the new department. But because he was now sixty-seven years old, Pergen was assisted by the youthful Count Francis Joseph von Saurau (1760-1832).<sup>10</sup>

Saurau, erstwhile companion to Francis, was not only younger than Pergen but abler and far more ambitious. Although at one time sympathetic to the Enlightenment, he was unwaveringly loyal to the dynasty. Above all he was a conscientious bureaucrat interested in political advancement. Zealous in ferreting out political malcontents, he also was despotic in his actions,

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the protocols of the ministerial conferences as collected in Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 225-28 (1792), 229-30 (1793), 231 (1794), 232-33 (1795), etc.; in a letter of January 30, 1793, to his brother Leopold, Francis wrote, "I answer your letter with pleasure, to thank you for the enclosed information and for your frankness, which is always welcome." Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände des Hausarchivs, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Archduke Charles—no one else seemed to dare—openly tried to reduce the influence of Colloredo. But the old ajo was destined to keep his advantage some time longer. Not until 1805 was he dismissed, following disastrous Austrian defeats at the hands of the French in that year.

<sup>8</sup> [Francis X. Huber], *Beytrag zur Charakteristik und Regierungs-Geschichte der Kaiser Josephs II., Leopolds II. und Franz II. zur Prüfung für die Zeitgenossen und zum Behufe für künftige Historio und Biographen dieser Monarchen* (Paris, 1799 [1800?]), pp. 219 ff.; Heinrich von Srbik, *Metternich: Der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (Munich, 1925), I, 443 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Karl and Mathilde Uhlirz, *Handbuch der Geschichte Österreichs und seiner Nachbarländer Böhmen und Ungarn* (Graz, Vienna, Leipzig, 1927-39), II<sup>1</sup>, 466.

<sup>10</sup> Viktor Bibl, *Die Wiener Polizei: Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1927), pp. 225 ff., 272; *id.*, *Der Zerfall Österreichs* (Vienna, 1922-24), I, 76; F. Walter, "Die Organisation der staatlichen Polizei unter Kaiser Josef II.," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, VII (1927), 22-53; August Fournier, "Kaiser Josef II. und der 'geheime Dienst.' Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der österreichischen Polizei," in his *Historische Studien und Skizzen*, 3d series (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), pp. 1-16; Pavel von Mitrofanov, *Joseph II. Seine politische und kulturelle Tätigkeit* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910), I, 269 ff.

harsh in his judgments, and ready to bring to justice even close personal friends if he thought they were guilty of subversive activities.

Whereas one of the ablest observers of the day, Baron Charles Frederick Kübeck von Kübau, regarded Saurau as "a gifted, sensible man," the count's opponents called him a Torquemada and accused him of building his career upon the corpses of men who were guilty more of folly than of treason. He was accused, also, of inventing conspiracies so that he might crush them and thus impress the emperor with his zeal and alertness. Such a charge would be as difficult to disprove as to prove. We are certain only that he was generally popular, that Francis was grateful to him, and that, in co-operation with Pergen, he laid the groundwork for the later and more notorious police systems of Count Joseph von Sedlnitzky and Prince Metternich.<sup>11</sup>

The principles henceforth underlying police administration in Austria were enunciated by Pergen, approved by Francis, and acted upon by Saurau. They were explained to the provincial governors in a circular letter by Count Pergen under the date of April 5, 1793:

Your Excellency will note . . . that all official police acts relating to security measures must rest entirely on a basis of humaneness, reasonableness, and justice. . . .

Inasmuch as the security of person and property constitute the true happiness of man, these regulations afford public proof of the mildness of the régime under which we live and the humaneness of our monarch. Just as these principles must serve, on the one hand, to check any rash action on the part of the provincial chiefs . . . so do they impose on these officers the duty of maintaining constant vigil to discover and hold responsible—always within the prescribed limits—any individuals who, blinded by *pride* or *self-interest* resulting from *theoretical* knowledge, dare to arouse popular mistrust of the sovereign . . . by words or deeds. Such persons are then to be patiently instructed regarding their delusions, but if they persist in their opinions and thus become dangerous, they are to be dealt with accordingly.

Your Excellency will, in particular . . . tolerate no clubs or other secret, suspect gatherings under whatever name. These rarely aim at anything good, and because of their potentialities for evil may become dangerous in spite of all intentions to the contrary. This has been amply demonstrated by experience. In this connection it is understood that the scattering or detention of really dangerous persons among the participants must be done without attracting undue notice. . . .

<sup>11</sup> Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (Vienna, 1856–90), XXVIII, 279–83; Adalbert Fäulhammer, "Politische Meinungen und Stimmungen in Wien in den Jahren 1793 und 1794," *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1893), pp. 7–8; Maximilian von Kübeck, ed., *Tagebücher des Carl Friedrich Freiherrn Kübeck von Kübau* (Vienna, 1909–10), I<sup>2</sup>, 439; Beidtel, II, 231; Friedrich A. von Schönholz, *Traditionen zur Charakteristik Österreichs, seines Staats- und Volkslebens unter Franz I.*, ed. by Gustav Gugitz (Munich, 1914), I, 29n; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 76 ff.; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 218 ff.; Karl Hafner, "Franz Josef Graf von Saurau. Mitteilungen zu seiner Biographie und zur Geschichte des Krieges von 1809," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII (1909), 24–94; Charles Scalsfield [Carl Postl], *Österreich wie es ist*, tr. from the Eng. and ed. by Victor Klarwill (Vienna, 1919), p. 206.

The provincial chiefs . . . must keep constantly informed on the state of public opinion within the areas under their control and on the actions of any suspicious individuals who may be living in the land. . . . This information, furthermore, must regularly be sent to [Count Pergen] so that he may be able to keep His Majesty posted on the prevailing order in the entire monarchy. . . .

It only remains to make one additional observation regarding the precautions necessary to maintain peace and quiet in the cities and especially in the rural districts. Ordinary security measures do not suffice for the current delicate situation, in which the freedom swindle [*Freyheits-Schwindel*] has gained so much ground and all monarchical governments are facing unrest. Every chief must secretly set in motion all levers for converting those in error and for wiping out all subversive views with which individuals or classes may have been infected by sneaking agitators. This can best be done through the agency of well-disposed citizens who possess the confidence of and have influence over the public, through the unostentatious distribution of patriotic writings by servants of the provincial administration, through a strict watch over privately and publicly circulated tracts, and, above all, through the forthright co-operation of all teachers.

Precisely how these principles are to be applied in each locality and in light of the actual sentiments of the inhabitants . . . should be fairly easy for Your Excellency to decide. Only it must always be borne in mind that there is to be evident no partiality for this class or that, since, after all, the welfare of one depends on that of the other, and the rights and property of each are alike entitled to the protection of the state.<sup>12</sup>

In sending a copy of these instructions to Palatine Archduke Leopold on April 6, 1794, Pergen emphasized that official "observance of said regulations could cause harm to no innocent person, while he who was found guilty could be sentenced only by his legally appropriate judge [*sein gehöriger Richter*]." <sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, since Austria was at war and French emissaries were urging the subjects of Francis to rebel, the long arm of the police began to reach into every corner of the monarchy. Strict watch was kept over all foreigners, including diplomatic representatives, and over every native who was in position to influence the thoughts of others. Persons who had distinguished themselves in political, social, or economic endeavors were especially interesting to the police. The latter carefully noted the books and papers the intellectuals read, the discussions they held, the company they kept, the journeys they took, and the assemblies and cafés they frequented. Spies were placed in every branch of the government and among all levels of the population. Skill was displayed in the secret opening of letters and the imitation of private seals.<sup>14</sup>

Much of this was based on precedent, for the counterattack on subversion, stimulated through the efforts of the energetic "red-baiter" Alois Hoffmann, had begun during the reign of Emperor Leopold. In July, 1791, for example, Leopold was informed that a certain manufacturer, heated by wine, had so

<sup>12</sup> Circular Schreiben an die Herren Länder Chiefs (Abschrift), Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 149, k. 8, f. 53-58.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Uhlirz, II<sup>1</sup>, 469.

far forgotten himself in a café as to chide the Germans for lacking the courage to imitate the French revolutionaries. "A diet of bread and water coupled with suitable labor in a workhouse" soon "thinned the blood of this wretched victim of the liberty swindle!"<sup>15</sup> But the outbreak of war in April, 1792, the increasing influence of the French example, and the advent of an energetic police commissioner greatly extended the field of action for the supporters of the *status quo*.

Saurau's hunt for "sneaking agitators" and "Jacobins" led to a series of notorious trials in 1794 and 1795. It had for some time been rumored that conspirators were plotting to blow up a strategic Vienna bridge, start incendiary fires in several parts of the city, and take advantage of the ensuing disorder to precipitate a revolution under the cry: "Long live liberty!" According to these stories the imperial family was marked for murder, while the aristocrats and wealthier members of the middle class were to be plundered. It now was recalled, also, that as early as December, 1792, the police had found mysterious bundles of inflammatory materials scattered throughout the capital. Opponents of the regime whispered that all these tales were figments of a policeman's imagination, but Saurau informed the emperor that he was in real danger. At last, on the night of July 31-August 1, 1794, the police suddenly and swiftly took into custody a number of prominent residents of Vienna. Additional arrests quickly followed in most of the provinces and in Hungary.<sup>16</sup>

Among those taken into custody were Municipal Councillor (Martin) Joseph Prandstätter, a friend of Saurau; First Lieutenant Francis Hebenstreit von Streitenfels, inventor and poet; Professor Baron Andrew von Riedel (Riedl), a former tutor of Emperor Francis; Imperial Councillor Francis Gotthardy (Gottardi), an ex-theatrical director; Dr. John Gottlieb Wolstein, head of the veterinary school in Vienna; John Hackel, retired merchant and amusement concessionaire; the seventeen-year-old Count Leopold von Hohenwart, nephew of that Count Sigismund von Hohenwart who had been the emperor's history teacher and now was bishop of St. Pölten; and Abbot (Joseph) Ignace Martinovics, secret agent under Leopold II.<sup>17</sup>

Many of these men and of the scores of less prominent defendants were

<sup>15</sup> Emil K. Blümml and Gustav Gugitz, *Altwienerisches: Bilder und Gestalten* (2d ed.; Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1921), II, 310.

<sup>16</sup> [Franz Gräffer], *Francisceische Curiosia; oder ganz besondere Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Lebens- und Regierungs-Periode des Kaisers Franz II. (I.)* (Vienna, 1849), pp. 32-33; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 228 ff.; Blümml and Gugitz, pp. 311 ff., 315 ff.; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 78-79; Hafner, in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII, 26-27.

<sup>17</sup> Schönholz, I, 28n. 30n; Gräffer, pp. 17 ff.; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 226 ff., 257-58; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 79; *id.*, *Die Wiener Polizei*, p. 302; Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Sigismund Anton Graf Hohenwart, Fürsterzbischof von Wien* (Graz and Vienna, 1912), pp. 53-54.

ex-officials. Having served under Joseph and Leopold, they had been pensioned by Francis and now were bitter against the administration which cut short their careers. Virtually all were lodge members, belonging either to the Freemasons or the Illuminati—secret societies then widely regarded as the arch instigators of revolution. The investigations and trials dragged on for more than a year, most of the accused being sentenced and punished individually or in small groups. And while the proceedings continued, the government emphasized the seriousness of the situation by regarrisoning abandoned posts in Vienna and its suburbs and by repairing the old city gates—a job that had been neglected for more than a century!<sup>18</sup>

The full details of the trials have never become public knowledge<sup>19</sup> and it seems not unlikely that some of the pertinent documents were destroyed. But the government, functioning through a special commission headed by Count Saurau and Magistrate Joseph Francis Martinolli,<sup>20</sup> satisfied itself that all the accused were guilty of subversive crimes.<sup>21</sup> All had attended secret gatherings and been heard to speak of the administration in a disloyal way. Some had offered for sale copies of the French Constitution of 1793. Several had composed or distributed revolutionary tracts and inflammatory appeals. Others had worked out plans for inciting the peasantry and pre-

<sup>18</sup> Gräffer, p. 31; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 226 ff.; Domokos G. Kosáry, *A History of Hungary* (Cleveland, 1941), pp. 175–77; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 79; Sebastian Brunner, *Die Mysterien der Aufklärung in Österreich, 1770–1800* (Mainz, 1869), *passim*; [Anthon J. Gross-Hoffinger], *Das Buch der Freiheit, oder der Geist des 19. Jahrhunderts, von einem ausgewanderten Oesterreicher* (Meissen, 1834), pp. 316 ff.; *Geheime Geschichte des Verschwörungs-Systems der Jakobiner in den österreichischen Staaten. Für Wahrheitsfreunde* (London [Heilbronn], 1795), probably inspired by Vienna government; *Die Jakobiner in Wien: Österreichische Memoiren aus dem letzten Decennium des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zürich and Winterthur, 1842); *Der Prozess des Majestätsverbrechens in Ungarn im Jahre 1795* (Leipzig, 1800); Gustav B[rabbée], "Kaiser Franz II., die Wiener Freimaurer, und die Wiener Jakobiner," *Allgemeine österreichische Freimaurer-Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 60–62, 66–70, 82–84; Ludwig Rapp, *Freimaurer in Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1867); *id.*, *Eine Jakobinerverschwörung in Tirol. Episode aus der neueren Tiroler Geschichte* (Innsbruck, 1876); Ludwig Lewis, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich und Ungarn* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1872); Ignatius A. Fessler, *Sämmtliche Schriften über Freymaurerey* (2d ed.; Freiberg, 1805); [Karl von Chorinsky, *et al.*], *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns. Zwölf Vorträge am 30. und 31. März und 1. April 1897 zu Wien gehalten* (Vienna, 1897); W. B. [Johann B. Pfeilschifter], *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich* (Regensburg, 1868); [Claude T. Thory, comp.], *Acta latomorum, ou chronologie de l'histoire de la franc-maçonnerie . . .* Paris, documents and bibl.; *Die Freimaurer keine Jakobiner. Urtheil eines freymüthigen Mannes. Herausgegeben von Joseph Kottbauer* (Prague, 1793); Leopold Engel, *Geschichte des Illuminaten-Ordens* (Berlin, 1906); Robert Bartsch, "Die Jakobiner in Wien," *Österreichische Rundschau*, VII (1906), 504–11; Charles W. Heckethorn, *The Secret Societies of All Ages and All Countries* (London, 1875), I, bk. viii, has brief general history of freemasonry; Lajos Abafi [L. von Aigner], *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Budapest, 1890–99), covers 1726–85; August L. F. Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie der freimaurereischen Literatur* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1923), csp. I, 657–79; Bernhard Beyer, *Erster Ergänzungsband* (sup. vol. to above; Leipzig, 1926), esp. pp. 190–96.

<sup>19</sup> Uhlirz, II<sup>1</sup>, 469.

<sup>20</sup> Martinolli or Martinoly had earlier been dismissed by Emperor Leopold for sentencing a man on the information of an agent and without a trial.

<sup>21</sup> Schönholz, I, 29; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 233 ff., 237 ff.; Karl Weiss, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (2d ed.; Vienna, 1882–83), II, 229, 234.



cipitating a general revolution. Many of the group were present at the secret planting of a "tree of liberty," during which ceremony a vulgar and subversive song, written by Hebenstreit, was chanted.<sup>22</sup>

This song, called "Eipeldauerlied," expressed satisfaction over the circumstance that Louis XVI had paid with his life for being "an enemy of the people," scolded the "Child-Emperor" Francis for upholding the aristocracy and fighting the French (who had declared war on him), and demanded the destruction of the nobility. The fact that the language of the song was common and obviously calculated to arouse the unthinking masses to violence made the whole affair the more serious. An idea of the composition's style may be had from the last stanza, which egged the masses on against the nobles as follows:

Drum schlagt's d'Hundsleut tot,  
Nit langsam, wie die Franzosen;  
Sonst machen's Enk no tausend Noth,  
S'ist nimmer auf sie z'losen.

So kill the dogs with smashing blows,  
Not like the Frenchmen, slowly;  
Else they'll cause you a thousand woes,  
For naught to them is holy.<sup>23</sup>

In the eyes of the Austrian government the two most dangerous prisoners were von Hebenstreit and Martinovics. The former, of Bohemian birth, entered the Austrian army at the age of twenty (1768). After a time he deserted and then for a brief period joined the Prussian colors. Later the emperor pardoned him and readmitted him to the Austrian forces, where he eventually became a first lieutenant. Hebenstreit was an intelligent and well-educated man of decidedly radical political and economic views. His lodge brothers, according to report, bestowed upon him the honorary title *homo*. Among his achievements was the invention of a new type of "war machine" or cannon that was not particularly effective but which he offered to the French.

The investigating commission found Hebenstreit guilty of "spreading French-democratic principles, inflaming and inciting the public, writing revolutionary tracts, lese-majesty, arousing the populace to a disturbance of

<sup>22</sup> Gräffer, pp. 17 ff.; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 80-81; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 14-15; *Urtheil über den Martin Joseph Prandstätter und Heinrich Jeline, Wien, den 3. August 1795*; *Urtheil über den Landesverrätther und Verführer Andreas Riedl, Wien, den 29. Julius 1795*; *Über die Verurtheilung einiger Staats-Verbrecher, Wien, den 12ten. März 1795*, relating to Hackel, Gotthardy, and a former Lemberg police official named Francis Xavier von Troll. Copies of these leaflets are (or were) in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, p. 229.

law and order, composing a subversive popular song, and offering a newly invented cannon to France and Poland." For these crimes he was sentenced to "the confiscation of his property, nullification of his patent of nobility, dishonorable discharge from the armed forces, and hanging." The execution was carried out publicly in Vienna (January, 1795) and the condemned man ascended the scaffold bearing a placard with the inscription: "Francis Hebenstreit, for treason."<sup>24</sup>

Martinovics, regarded as the prime conspirator, was born in 1755, the son of a South Slavic army officer. He grew up to be a learned monk and abbot, conspicuous for his restlessness and ambition. During the reign of Emperor Joseph he was associated with the university at Lemberg in Galicia. Under Leopold, who thought well of him, he became a secret agent and link between the government and the discontented Magyar estates. Disgruntled over his dismissal by Francis, he soon became the central figure in a plot to overthrow the dynasty. One of the chief planks in the abbot's revolutionary program was the expropriation of church properties!<sup>25</sup>

As it happened, the London police, who had discovered Martinovics' contacts with Paris, supplied their Viennese colleagues with numerous details about his plans.<sup>26</sup> Having decided upon a revolutionary career, he "soon worked himself into the confidence of the radicals, advertising himself with the lie that he was entrusted by Robespierre to organize a revolt. He founded two secret societies, one of which, known as the Reformers, propagated the aspirations of the common [*i.e.*, lower] nobility; while the other, called the Society for Freedom and Equality, propounded revolutionary ideas."<sup>27</sup>

Martinovics' house in Vienna became the chief gathering place for Austrian revolutionaries and members of secret societies, the total number of persons involved with him being between seventy-five and one hundred. Their names were all made known to the police by Martinovics himself, in a desperate effort to secure lenient treatment.<sup>28</sup> Described by a contemporary lodge brother as a man of "undisciplined ambition and greed, a decided atheist and political fanatic,"<sup>29</sup> Martinovics was beheaded at Ofen in May,

<sup>24</sup> Gräffer, p. 19; Schönholz, I, 34n; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 82-83; Bartsch, in *Österreichische Rundschau*, VII, 504-11. Emperor Francis restored the death penalty for treason on January 2, 1795, that is, after Hebenstreit and his colleagues had been arrested. The executions therefore took place under an *ex post facto* law, which seemed unfair even to several cabinet officers at the time.

<sup>25</sup> Wurzbach, XVII, 50-55; [Franz Kratter], *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien. Ein Beytrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntniss* (Vienna, 1786), pp. 38 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Kosáry, p. 175; *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, pp. 229-30.

<sup>28</sup> Kosáry, pp. 175-76; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15.

<sup>29</sup> I. A. Fessler, quoted in Schönholz, I, 30n.

1795, having first been made to witness the decapitation of four of his closest Hungarian friends and co-conspirators.<sup>30</sup>

In the end, all defendants were found guilty and sentenced by the special commission, with Francis refusing to grant any pardons at the time. Almost a score of the radicals were executed. The nobles lost their titles. Most of the conspirators were deprived of their property. All were pilloried. And jail sentences were imposed ranging from two to sixty years.

Regarding the fate of the conspirators tried in Hungary, Francis wrote his brother, Palatine Leopold, "I leave the matter of the execution of the delinquents entirely in your hands. It might be useful to arrange for the private printing of some materials dealing with the violent deeds contemplated by the evil-doers and the appropriateness of their punishment. We did that here among the Germans and with good effect. I hope to God that this may be the first and last time that we will have to make such infamous discoveries."<sup>31</sup> And twelve days later, "I have received your letter with joy and see therefrom that the last of the executions has passed off without incident and to the general satisfaction. Unhappily this example was needful, and the wicked fellows have proved through their death that they deserved nothing better."<sup>32</sup>

During the century and a half since 1795, numerous critics have attacked the harshness of these sentences and Francis' unwillingness to mitigate them.<sup>33</sup> An outraged liberal of 1798 complained that "during this Inquisition-like persecution Francis, with his wife and his children, went to church as diligently as ever, and sang and prayed and heard masses . . . all the while permitting the incarcerations, judgments, and executions to continue without in the least worrying about them."<sup>34</sup> Eighty years later another critic, himself not outstanding as a liberal, denounced Francis as a "petty soul" and a "spiritual relative" (*ein Geistesverwandter*) of Philip II of Spain.<sup>35</sup> And in 1922 a third objector wrote: "It was entirely in accord with the emperor's nature to decree such an example in order to induce fear and fright."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wurzbach, XVII, 53; Schönholz, I, 30n, 32n; Vilmos Fraknói, *Martinovics élete* [*Life of Martinovics*] (Budapest, 1921), a new edition of his *Martinovics es tarsainak összeesküvése* (Budapest, 1880); [Francis X. Huber?], *Briefe eines Franzosen, geschrieben im 6. Jahr der Republik über die geheime Policey in Wien* (Strassburg, 1799), pp. 428 ff.; Henrik Marczali, "Die Verschwörung des Martinovics," *Ungarische Revue*, I (1881), 11-29 (a review article of the 1880 edition of Fraknói).

<sup>31</sup> Francis to Archduke Leopold, May 12, 1795, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 98, k. 8, f. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Francis to Archduke Leopold, May 24, 1795, *ibid.*, f. 40.

<sup>33</sup> In September, 1802, Francis did pardon all those conspirators who still remained in confinement. Schönholz, I, 35n.

<sup>34</sup> *Briefe eines Franzosen*, p. 439.

<sup>35</sup> Heinrich G. von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1879-94), II, 567; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

<sup>36</sup> Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

These and other critics of Francis have made a point of emphasizing the past meritorious services of the defendants, their small number, and their claim to having been heedless rather than treasonable. Thus, by minimizing the importance of the subversive actions and stressing the harshness of the penalties, the anti-Franciscans have generally been able to arouse in their readers sympathy for the conspirators and disgust for the heartless Vienna government. But in the eyes of this government the "Jacobins" represented the worst type of evildoer, something akin to the modern fifth columnist. Martinovics, Hebenstreit, and their followers were advocating the violent overthrow of a system which the ruling group regarded as divinely ordained. To the conservatives of the day these plots therefore seemed criminal rather than heedless, especially since most of the defendants were intelligent and not likely to be fooled into believing that their revolutionary plans, in time of war, were harmless.<sup>37</sup>

The reaction of the Viennese citizenry to the trials is noteworthy. At first the burghers appeared stunned at the unheralded arrests and the emergency military precautions.<sup>38</sup> But soon curiosity replaced astonishment and the populace became impatient at the delays attending the investigation.<sup>39</sup> The restiveness and the anti-Jacobin sentiments were so pronounced that the government felt constrained to administer a rebuke. "Instead of being impatient with the slow course of justice," ran an official statement, "the Viennese should rejoice in living under an administration that not only protects innocence and property, but gives even the worst criminal time to build up his case and punishes him according to the laws only after his guilt has been fully established."<sup>40</sup>

Thereafter the crowds made the most of every public execution or lesser punishment. The pilloried conspirators were shamefully treated. Elegantly attired persons came on horseback to witness the hanging of Hebenstreit. Young women were conspicuous in the milling mobs. When the body of a conspirator named Cajetanus Gilofsky von Uratzova, who had committed suicide in prison, was hanged according to sentence, the people cast mud and

<sup>37</sup> Hackel was a possible exception in the matter of intelligence. It was said of him that, in his stupidity and gluttony, he probably thought the word revolution signified a new French ragout. *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 262-63.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227 ff.; Gräffer, p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 15-16; Walther Tritsch, *Franz von Österreich, der Kaiser des "Gott erhalte"* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 245.

<sup>40</sup> *Über die Verurtheilung einiger Staats-Verbrecher, Wien, den 12ten März 1795*; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 15-16; [Franz Gräffer], *Josephinische Curiosa; oder ganz besondere, theils nicht mehr, theils noch nicht bekannte Persönlichkeiten, Geheimnisse, Details, Actenstücke und Denkwürdigkeiten der Lebens- und Zeitgeschichte Kaiser Josephs II.* (Vienna, 1848-50), III, 187.

stones at the corpse.<sup>41</sup> Small wonder that a disgusted witness wrote, "I don't like this business of the Viennese being so greedy to see executions."<sup>42</sup> Many years later, housemaids who never knew or had long forgotten the origins thereof, still hailed each other with lurid exclamations that had come into circulation at the time of the Jacobin trials. "What a spectacle, dear Mr. Hackel!" they would shout, and "Rotten weather, Mr. Prandstätter!" ("*Mein lieber Hackel, das ist ein Spektakel!*" and "*Potz Wetter, Herr Prandstätter!*")<sup>43</sup>

One of the most illuminating contemporary records of these exhibitions was contributed by a publicist and minor official named Joseph Richter. Among many other occupations he edited a periodical leaflet containing the supposed letters of a country bumpkin visiting Vienna to his cousin "in the sticks." In one of these letters Richter wrote:

Cousin, at last the wish of the Viennese has come true. Yesterday [March 12, 1795] three members of the clubbist gang were sentenced as accessories to treason.<sup>44</sup> Cousin, you just can't imagine the crush there was on the Hohenmarkt [where the punishments were carried out]. The people were as thick as ants, and their heads waved back and forth so that the scene looked like a ripe wheatfield in the wind. Some people even clung to the housetops, and in the windows one head rose above the other. . . .

Next, cousin, came the turn of the fellow who owned the amusement booth [Hackel] and at whose games the people had drawn more blanks than there were heads in the crowd. They could hardly await his coming . . . and when he was brought along at last the spectators raised a howl of glee that beat anything heard at a new ballet. I thought the houses were going to cave in, and you couldn't hear a word of the judgment when it was read. . . . In the one day they sold more than twenty thousand copies of the sentence; that's the kind of impression it made on the people!<sup>45</sup>

This positive reaction of the public to the trials can be better understood if one bears in mind that popular antipathy for "Jacobin" activities had been evident long before the happenings of 1794-1795. According to the testimony of Francis Xavier Huber, whose writings provide one of the major critical sources for the period, it was dangerous even in 1792 to express certain opinions in public. "I myself prophesied openly in the Jägerhorn [a tavern] in 1792," he wrote, "that France would become a republic and Austria would

<sup>41</sup> Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15; *Beschreibung auf Gilojskis Tod. Den 10. September 1794* (Vienna, 1794), in Vienna Stadtbibliothek; Joseph Richter, *Die Eipeldauer Briefe 1785-1813*, ed. and with intro. by Eugen von Paunel (Munich, 1917-18), I, 220, 372.

<sup>42</sup> *Der Eipeldauer*, I, 235.

<sup>43</sup> Schönholz, I, 34-35; Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, p. 26n.

<sup>44</sup> The three were Francis Gotthardy, John Hackel, and Francis Xavier von Troll, the last an ex-police officer from Lemberg.

<sup>45</sup> *Der Eipeldauer*, I, 252-54.

lose the Netherlands and Lombardy. Immediately a host of archpatriots pounced upon me, labeling me a Jacobin and an emissary of the French.”<sup>46</sup>

A police report of February 8, 1793, indicated that “some citizens were dismissing the French tutors whom they had engaged to teach their children, that a number of landlords had given notice to French tenants to vacate their premises, and that signs had been put up in several restaurants denying service to Frenchmen.” Various individuals, furthermore, “had expressed the peculiar sentiment that the French language should be prohibited, while others proposed the ousting of all Frenchmen from the country.”<sup>47</sup> A few months later some Viennese hotheads nailed a summons to the great door of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, calling on the populace to murder the conspirators. “Burghers!” it read, “This is a challenge! Let us avenge our fellow-burghers in France and assassinate all the Jacobins here! Such a club is to be found at No. 950 Franciscanerplatz!”<sup>48</sup>

The Venetian ambassador to Vienna was much impressed by what he saw of the public spirit. “The Austrian subjects,” he wrote, “enraged to the highest degree, especially after the unhappy fate of the [French] king, have made numerous spontaneous patriotic gifts to the emperor. Although the sum total may not be very great in relation to the enormous expenditures that are required in these circumstances, nonetheless it is not unworthy of consideration—especially since it shows the affection of the subject for the sovereign and reveals a fine disposition to repel the arms of the French as well as their doctrines.”<sup>49</sup>

It did not calm the public spirit to see captured French officers moving about freely on Austrian soil. According to an official report, there were 767 French officers and 11,859 French soldiers held as prisoners of war in Inner Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary at the close of 1793. Since the officers were fairly free to go and come as they pleased, within certain geographic limits, some of them doubtless found opportunity to air republican views. Only when an officer really abused his privileges and was caught disseminating subversive doctrines was he in danger of being placed under stricter watch or even under arrest. Despite police reports on the unfavorable results of such a policy, the war ministry would go no further in checking the freedom of the captive commissioned personnel.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, p. 224n.

<sup>47</sup> Report of Count Perger, quoted in Alexander Elmer, *Aus der Geheimmappe des Kaisers Franz* (Vienna, 1926), p. 22; see also Blümml and Gugitz, II, 312.

<sup>48</sup> Weiss, II, 234 and n.

<sup>49</sup> Alfred von Arneth, ed., *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Österreich im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1863), p. 341.

<sup>50</sup> Elmer, pp. 25–26.



The emperor himself was astonished at the vehemence of popular feeling. In a letter of December, 1792, to his brother Leopold he mentioned that the authorities were busily and successfully "hunting" French emissaries and agents, and then continued, "The whole country here is so embittered against the French that we constantly have to restrain the people from committing excesses at their expense."<sup>51</sup> And shortly thereafter he wrote, again from Vienna, "There is no news here except that the whole population is so furious against the French that one must refrain from speaking their language; it is hard to keep the people quiet."<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, Francis himself was very suspicious of French intellectuals and travelers. He was especially distrustful of French tutors and governesses because these often had a strong hold on the minds of their charges. "My German subjects of whatever estate," he commanded, "should learn to think in German."<sup>53</sup> And when numerous aristocrats pleaded for exceptions to a general decree ordering the expulsion of such foreign instructors, Francis almost invariably refused. "My decision stands," he would reply. "This and all other French tutors and governesses must leave the country."<sup>54</sup>

As time went on, the restrictions on foreigners of any occupation became more severe. In January, 1793, Francis informed Palatine Leopold that he had ordered the dissolution of all secret clubs, and then added, "In the interest of security I have issued an order that no Frenchman may remain in the country for more than eight days or, for that matter, even enter the Austrian domains, who cannot display a pass from the state chancellery. Such passes must also be acquired by any Frenchmen now resident in the land. You will please enforce this order in Hungary for I assure you that there often are very wicked people among the immigrants."<sup>55</sup>

For a time Francis insisted on approving all passes himself, after having been informed of all available knowledge of the petitioner's circumstances and past.<sup>56</sup> But after a few months of this time-consuming and boring work, Francis wrote Baron John von Thugut, later foreign minister of Austria, "In order that I may not perpetually be plagued with the petitions of so many French immigrants who wish to enter and temporarily reside in my lands, I

<sup>51</sup> Francis to Archduke Leopold, Dec. 16, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 97, k. 1c, f. 161.

<sup>52</sup> Francis to Archduke Leopold, Feb. 9, 1793, *ibid.*, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Elmer, pp. 23-24.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>55</sup> Francis to Archduke Leopold, Jan. 5, 1793, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 2. For the imperial order requiring immigrants to possess passes, see note and enclosure of Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

<sup>56</sup> Francis to Count (John) Philipp von Cobenzl, Jan. 4, 1793, *ibid.*, fas. 229 (1793), k. 1, f. 21.

hereby confer upon you the authority to make the necessary decisions. But you must regularly consult Count Pergen in these matters and afterward inform me of all dispositions."<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile it had been made amply clear that passes were to be issued only to such persons as would definitely never become "a danger to nor a burden on the state."<sup>58</sup>

Palatine Leopold, for his part, had been conscientiously following his brother's instructions in Hungary. As a sample of his activity, we may note a report which he sent to the emperor in December, 1792:

I discovered some days ago that a club has been meeting in Pest, which is said to have for its purpose the stirring up of both townsmen and peasants. Secondly, I have heard from several sources about the favorable comments being made in restaurants concerning the French, indeed, that in one tavern the health of the French was drunk. Since these things came to me from reliable quarters and I regarded them as matters not to be neglected, I immediately took the following precautions.

Concerning the club, whose meeting place we know, I have ordered [the appropriate officers] to discover its membership and in particular its leaders. Count Zichy [Count Charles Zichy von Vasonykeö], who is completely reliable in the matter, has orders, as soon as the leaders are discovered, to call them into his presence, explain to them the seriousness of their lapse, and warn them not to make any more missteps. After this has been done I shall nonetheless keep a watchful eye on them. Should they once again fall into error, I shall be forced to take sterner measures and shall have to ask Your Majesty what is to be done with them. . . .

Regarding the coffee houses, I have ordered [the appropriate officers in Pest and Ofen] to send trusty men to watch them. These [agents] are to make note of the people who deliver such [unlawful] harangues . . . in order to warn them and, if this warning prove of no avail, to punish them severely. . . . Since I have heard that similar things are going on in Pressburg, I shall also take similar steps there. For I believe that if one punishes such swinishness promptly, this will serve as an example to all; but if one lets it take root and gather too many followers, then punishment is bound to arouse popular unrest.<sup>59</sup>

Leopold's measures were only partially successful. Two years later Francis still found cause to complain about subversive clubs in Hungary and Transylvania.<sup>60</sup> The police, moreover, were worried over the type of literature that was being circulated and "widely read" in the larger Hungarian cities. This comprised "books with the most dangerous contents, including one entitled *The Ruins*," and a *Journal Jacobâin* which "far surpassed *Le Moniteur*."<sup>61</sup> In addition, many copies of French newspapers must have reached

<sup>57</sup> Francis to Baron Thugut, Nov. 24, 1794, Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinetts-Archiv, Protokoll der Allerhöchsten Hand-Billets, 1794, no. 549.

<sup>58</sup> Enclosure with note from Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

<sup>59</sup> Archduke Leopold to Francis, Dec. 3, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 118, f. 235-36.

<sup>60</sup> Francis to Palatine Leopold, Mar. 3, 1795, *ibid.*, fas. 98, k. 8, f. 16.

<sup>61</sup> Bericht Pergens über das Journal Jacobâin 1794, *ibid.*, fas. 149, k. 7, f. 29.

the Hungarian reading public, for the official correspondence of the day is studded with repeated prohibitions against their circulation.<sup>62</sup> And this despite an official decree that "all those who have in their possession any pas-quils, manifestoes, proclamations, or other writings stemming from the [revolutionary] riffraff, or of whom it can be proved that they have passed such items on to others, either directly or by word of mouth, shall be regarded in the same [unfavorable] light as the authors thereof and shall be subjected to exemplary punishment, without regard to social or political station."<sup>63</sup>

Pamphlets and newspapers were not the only literary thorns in the flesh of the Austrian authorities. In January, 1794, the emperor was disturbed by the importation of French calendars for that year. "The sale of the new French calendar," he wrote, "is to be prohibited at once. By making possible comparisons with the Christian calendar, it provides occasion chiefly for miserable jokes and religious mockery. I am displeased that in existing circumstances, in which every effort is being made to withdraw all such French products from the public view, this sale has been tolerated. Henceforth I expect a more diligent and exacting censorship so that it need not remain for me to ban such pieces *after* they have been circulated among the people."<sup>64</sup>

Shortly thereafter the emperor also complained that a local bookseller had been allowed to receive six copies of a certain "suspicious *Journal encyclopédique, ou universel*." To Count Leopold von Kollowrat he wrote:

Inasmuch as this journal certainly is a fit subject for prohibition, you are to make all necessary inquiries and then order the appropriate disposition of the case. It is well known that French literature for some years, and especially since the outbreak of the Revolution, has degenerated into nothing more than pamphleteering. Miserable wit has taken the place of sound scholarship in these writings which, moreover, not containing true knowledge, are neither advantageous nor useful to the state. You will therefore see to it that the strictest censorship is placed in all my hereditary lands on every French book, brochure, and journal which has appeared since the outbreak of the Revolution or that may appear in future; the same applies to any translations that may be made thereof.<sup>65</sup>

Subversive intent was traced by the authorities even to an opera. They claimed that *The Magic Flute* (*Die Zauberflöte*) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) was in reality a political allegory on the French Revolution.<sup>66</sup> The composer, in truth, did belong to a lodge, and years later one

<sup>62</sup> Staatsarchiv, Billete, 1793 ff., *passim*.

<sup>63</sup> Enclosure with note of Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

<sup>64</sup> Francis to Count Leopold von Kollowrat, Jan. 15, 1794, Staatsarchiv, Billete, 1794, no. 36.

<sup>65</sup> Francis to Count Kollowrat, Mar. 19, 1794, *ibid.*, no. 162.

<sup>66</sup> Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 85; *Geheime Geschichte des Verschwörungs-Systems*, *passim*; Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181; Olin Downes, "Mozart—150 Years After," *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1941.

of his fellow masons proudly characterized *The Magic Flute* as Mozart's "greatest and most comprehensive masonic composition . . . glorifying freemasonry on the stage."<sup>67</sup> Hence, whereas friendly critics were inclined to the view that Mozart, after all, "was only the creator of the excellent music and had had nothing to do with the literary structure of the piece,"<sup>68</sup> others believed that he had consciously spread revolutionary propaganda.<sup>69</sup>

In any case, the opera, first performed in 1791, was well received by the Viennese public. Sixty-two consecutive performances were given, always before large audiences.<sup>70</sup> Apparently word got around that it *was* a political allegory, and someone even prepared a double list of characters for the enlightenment of those who were not clever enough of their own accord to detect the parallels. The privately circulated sheet was got up as follows:

#### List of Characters

Queen of the Night	The former administration [Maria Theresa]
Pamina, her daughter	Liberty, always a daughter of despotism
Tamino	The people
Three women	Delegates of the three estates
Sarastro	The wisdom of better legislation
Priests of Sarastro	The National Assembly
Papageno	The aristocracy
Old woman	Equality
Monostatos, a Moor	The émigrés
Slaves	Servants and hirelings of the émigrés
Three youths	Wisdom, justice, and love of country, which guide Tamino
Serpent	The financial deficit <sup>71</sup>

"The allegory forsooth does not belong to the cleverest," wrote one observer, "but it was regarded as sufficiently pithy to further its secret purposes."<sup>72</sup>

The precautionary lengths to which the government was driven through

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in Brunner, p. 37, from [Moritz A. Zille], *Die Zauberflöte: Text-Erläuterungen für alle Verehrer Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 7.

<sup>68</sup> Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181.

<sup>69</sup> Brunner, pp. 37-38; see also Edgar Istel, *Die Freimaurerei in Mozarts "Zauberflöte"* (Berlin, 1928), and Fritz Brukner, ed., *Die Zauberflöte: Unbekannte Handschriften und seltene Drucke aus der Frühzeit von Mozarts Oper* (Vienna, 1934). The text of the opera was written by a theatrical director named Emanuel Schikaneder (Schikeneder), perhaps with the aid of Karl Ludwig Gieseke. Istel, pp. 4-8; Brukner, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181-82.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 182-83. <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 182.

fear of subterfuges was well illustrated in an incident of 1796. An Austrian commercial firm in that year endorsed the petition of a Marseille cap manufacturer to establish a factory in Trieste. The Frenchman had built up a sizable market for his caps in the Levant and now wished to move closer to his customers. The governor of Trieste and the appropriate court office reported favorably on the request, but the Vienna bureau thought it advisable to get an opinion from the police department.

This was thought desirable, first, because the manufacturer might wish to bring with him some skilled workmen from France, and secondly, because "these red caps, destined for the Levant where they have long been the customary headgear, nevertheless do seem to bear a resemblance, at least in color, to the French liberty caps." Hence the police might prefer to set certain conditions that would ensure delivery of all such caps to the Levant, allowing not one to be sold within the Austrian monarchy.

The request eventually was granted, with heavy restrictions. The Austrian firm sponsoring the petition had to accept responsibility for all French workers who might be admitted. These immigrants must live where they could easily be watched at all times. The French manufacturer had to render quarterly accountings proving that every cap made had been dispatched to the Levant. Finally, each employee would be carefully observed to make sure that he "really busied himself earnestly" with capmaking and had not entered the country under false pretenses in order to carry on subversive activities.<sup>73</sup>

One of Count Saurau's greatest achievements in stimulating devotion among Francis' subjects also occurred in 1796. Saurau approached the poet Lorenz Leopold Haschka and asked him to compose a hymn which would unite the monarchy in a firm bond of dynastic loyalty.<sup>74</sup> Such a song would show the potential Jacobins—if the trials had not fully served to do this—how useless it would be to try to make rebels out of the "good Viennese."<sup>75</sup> Haschka accepted the call, and when the popular composer, (Francis) Joseph Haydn, agreed to furnish the music, the success of the project was assured.

Filled with appreciation for and praise of the sovereign, the hymn was first played in public in the great National Theater on February 12, 1797, the twenty-ninth anniversary of the emperor's birth. It quickly took hold of the

<sup>73</sup> Johann Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie und ihrer Förderung unter Kaiser Franz I* (Vienna, 1914), pp. 15-16.

<sup>74</sup> Reinhold Lorenz, *Volksbewaffnung und Staatsidee in Österreich (1792-1797)* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1926), p. 107.

<sup>75</sup> Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, pp. 43-44; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 84; *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, pp. 250-51.

popular fancy and was everywhere sung with zest, so that Saurau did not have to provide the artificial build-up which he had at first thought necessary.<sup>76</sup> The words, with some modifications, comprised the Austrian national anthem until 1918.<sup>77</sup>

It remains only to mention one serious consequence of the government's fear of anything that might encourage the demand for political change. There resulted a veritable "flight from politics" on the part of some able and intelligent persons who feared to offer their services under a system built upon suspicion and employing denunciation and secret agents as weapons in its fight to maintain the *status quo*.<sup>78</sup> "A large part of the Austrian intelligentsia," wrote a careful student of the period, "now withdrew from all political activity. Decades later we Austrians still, half mockingly, half suspiciously, called educated men who busied themselves with literature and, if ever so timidly, with politics, Jacobins."<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Lorenz, p. 107; Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, pp. 43-45; Emil Bohn, *Die Nationalhymnen der europäischen Völker* (Breslau, 1908), pp. 18-19; Hafner, in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII, 28n; Böck, "Zum Jubiläum der österreichischen Volkshymne," *Wiener Neujahrsalmanach*, 1897, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>77</sup> The Haydn melody later was used for other anthems, too, including "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." The first stanza of Haschka's hymn was:

Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
 Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!  
 Hoch als Herrscher, hoch als Weiser  
 Steht er in des Ruhmes Glanz!  
 Liebe windet Lorbeerreiser  
 Ihm zum ewig grünen Kranz.  
 Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,  
 Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!

Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, p. 48. An English translation may be found in Granville Bantock, ed., *Sixty Patriotic Songs of All Nations* (Boston, 1913), pp. 60-63.

<sup>78</sup> Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

<sup>79</sup> Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 16.



\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## History and the Social Science Research Council

ROY F. NICHOLS\*

### I

TWENTY years ago the American Historical Association agreed to participate in the then recently organized Social Science Research Council and to join with six other national societies<sup>1</sup> in electing members to its board of directors. The completion of this score of years of affiliation and the character of these troubled times make it appropriate to review the nature and fruits of the relationship and to look into the possibilities of even more effective co-operation in the future.

At the close of the first World War the scholarly world was endeavoring to adjust to the new demands for scientific knowledge produced by the exigencies of that conflict. Even before the entrance of the United States into the war the scientific disciplines had organized the National Research Council. The American Council of Learned Societies came into being shortly after the dawn of peace. It was almost inevitable that social science should seek some similar organization. In 1921 the American Political Science Association took the first formal steps. William A. Dunning, its newly elected president and sometime president of the American Historical Association, appointed a committee which drafted a plan for the Social Science Research Council. This body, organized in 1923, was joined two years later by the historians.

At that time certain scholars were impressed by the fact that the foundations of the social sciences, particularly of economics, sociology, and political science, were preponderantly deductive and based upon a wide range of thought backed only by limited observation rather than by inductive method and extensive compilation of factual data. The efforts already made to turn to inductive methods had resulted in the collection of great quantities of facts

\*The author is professor of history in the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, American Sociological Society, American Anthropological Association, American Psychological Association, American Statistical Association. The members from the American Historical Association other than the present representatives have been Guy Stanton Ford, Arthur M. Schlesinger, William E. Dodd, Carlton J. H. Hayes, and Carl Wittke.

of a descriptive nature. Those working these data tended to confine themselves to studies in comparative economic, political, and social structures and functions. They had not been able to develop comprehensive views of society as an evolving organism which needed to be considered in its historic perspective and in its complex cross-section interrelationships.

The new organization began at once to canvass the possible ways of improving research by promoting co-operative effort by scholars of all the social sciences focusing upon general problems. The leaders of the new organization felt that the disciplines represented in the council were of haphazard and accidental growth and that none of them could provide all the data and techniques needed to solve basic social problems while all of them could contribute a share in co-operation. Efforts were begun therefore to encourage research in certain basic problems of social science, to consider and to advise about the setting up of such projects, and to secure funds to make possible their operation. The council was looking forward toward the advancement of a science of society which should be coherent and at the same time comprehensive.

Stated meetings were held, funds were obtained, conferences arranged and committees appointed. The consideration of projects was soon begun, money was allocated, and work started in a variety of fields, as often as possible under the co-operative direction of representatives of the various disciplines. In the course of the formulation of its program, the work of the council gradually became organized in seven general categories. Efforts were made to improve research organization, to develop personnel, to preserve and improve materials and enlarge their use, to improve research methods, to facilitate the dissemination of information about materials and methods and the results of investigation, to aid research wherever possible, and to enhance the general appreciation of the significance of the social sciences.

The twenty years of the membership of the A.H.A. in the S.S.R.C. have been divided into two almost equal periods. The first was one of projects. Relatively large sums of money were in hand to be distributed to promote research and most of the energy of the council was spent in considering projects, advising on their setup and operation, and allocating funds. In these years the delegates of the Association participated actively. However, few projects of primarily historical interest emerged to be financed with large sums. Most historians were not thinking in terms of co-operative projects on a large scale, and their modest individual wants were met by the annual award of fellowships and grants-in-aid.

While no large projects of a distinctly historical nature appeared during

this period, at least twenty-five of the historical guild served on committees of the council and two of the delegates bore much of the administrative responsibility, acting as chairmen of the problems and policy committee and as executive officers of the council.<sup>2</sup> Some publications of general interest to historians were sponsored, such as Beard's study of national interest, Bemis' and Griffin's guide to diplomatic history, and the historical portions of *Methods of Social Science*.<sup>3</sup> Financial aid was given to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson for his part in the listing of the world's diplomatic officers, which he was undertaking as chairman of a committee of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Most notable was the dynamic interest of the late Robert C. Binkley as head of the joint committee of the S.S.R.C. and the A.C.L.S. on materials for research.<sup>4</sup>

An interesting result of the relationship with the council was a grant to the A.H.A. from the council for a report on the state and opportunities of historical research. With this money a series of conferences was arranged to discuss the quality of historical research then current and to formulate plans for its improvement. Five such conferences were held in various parts of the country and a series of reports prepared and published.<sup>5</sup>

During this early period as well as in the years that followed, the council administered a well-financed fellowship and grants-in-aid program. Post-doctoral research training fellowships were announced and a careful system was devised for selecting the best qualified candidates. Particular interest was shown in scholars who were planning projects of interdisciplinary character. A second type of fellowship was later devised to provide special training earlier in the student's career for those who wished to develop such interests on a predoctoral level in the graduate schools of the nation. These were known as fellowships for field training and were designed to provide an opportunity for acquiring additional field experience necessary for research. In the years 1925-1939, historians were awarded 53 out of 264 fellowships granted in the postdoctoral range and 15 in the field training program, making a total of 68 out of 334.<sup>6</sup> They participated even more actively in the grants-in-aid program where a majority of the awards were made to them.

In the second half of the double decade council interest turned from passing on projects to planning new types of research, to studying new tech-

<sup>2</sup> Guy Stanton Ford and Arthur M. Schlesinger have been chairmen of the council.

<sup>3</sup> Charles A. Beard, *The Idea of National Interest* (New York, 1934); Samuel F. Bemis and Grace G. Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States* (Washington, 1935); Stuart A. Rice, ed., *Methods in Social Science* (Chicago, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> Robert C. Binkley, *Methods of Reproducing Research Materials* (Ann Arbor, 1931).

<sup>5</sup> *Historical Scholarship in America* (New York, 1932).

<sup>6</sup> *Fellows of the Social Science Research Council* (New York, 1939).

niques, and to reconsidering old ones. It was believed that better methods could be developed more effectively if research planners were more certain as to the effectiveness of methods in current use. This could be ascertained only by submitting them to some form of critical appraisal. A committee on appraisal was appointed, with representatives of the several disciplines, which undertook to ascertain which works had been regarded as outstanding during the preceding decade within the several disciplines and then to explore in some detail the reasons for which, or criteria according to which, these works had been so highly rated. Each work thus chosen by members of the profession was assigned to a mature scholar who, after examining the reviews, made an independent analysis of the purpose of the book, the methods pursued in its preparation, and a critique of the results attained in the light of subsequent evaluations and adoption of these methods by the profession. This report was then transmitted to the author of the work under appraisal for rejoinder. These documents were in turn presented to a conference consisting of some ten outstanding scholars in the field or fields, drawn from as many social science disciplines as appeared to be actively interested in the work under review. These conferees went over the whole procedure. The discussions at this conference were reported and printed, together with the appraisal and the rejoinder. Walter P. Webb's *Great Plains* was chosen for the historical work to be so considered.<sup>7</sup>

The sociological work appraised in this fashion was Thomas' and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant*.<sup>8</sup> Its appraisal caused much discussion of the best methods of using personal documents, such as autobiographies, diaries, letters, questionnaires and verbatim records, and the like, materials long well-known to historians but much less used by scholars in other disciplines. It was apparent that different evaluations were placed upon this type of data in the various fields; so it was decided to have memorandums prepared by scholars in the different subjects. These are in process of publication. Louis Gottschalk prepared the discussion of the use of such data by historians.<sup>9</sup>

A second committee of particular interest to historians was set up to explore the control of social data and to consider problems of the preservation and uses of materials. This followed the earlier committee on materials, previously mentioned. The new group has devoted itself to promoting the use of material in the National Archives by supplying information to social

<sup>7</sup> Fred A. Shannon, *An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's The Great Plains* (New York, 1940).

<sup>8</sup> Herbert Blumer, *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1939).

<sup>9</sup> Louis Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn, R. C. Angell, *Use of the Personal Document in History, Cultural Anthropology and Sociology* (New York, 1945).

scientists, not in the historical guild, regarding the wealth of material in the great collection of the government. It has also worked to secure the co-operation of the various state governments and archival establishments in collecting, processing, and preserving adequate records of the total war effort of their respective commonwealths.

A third committee was authorized upon the recommendation of a conference held to consider ways and means to promote basic historical research in the field of local history. This committee undertook to plan a guide to the study of local history, particularly designed to be useful in directing the energies and interests of the many local historians into paths more useful to social science. The fruit of their labors is the guide published under the title of *Local History*.<sup>10</sup>

Within the last few years three new committees have been created to plan the more thorough tilling of fruitful fields still too little exploited. One in economic history had hardly begun action before the war greatly curtailed its manpower and almost suspended its operations. Its main interests were developing along the lines of study of the role of government in American economic development, of American politico-economic thought in the 1790's, of economic and business legislation in various states prior to the Civil War, and the role of entrepreneurship.

The outbreak of World War II aroused the immediate interest among the delegates from the A.H.A. in the preparation of an adequate record and in planning ways to inaugurate a series of pilot studies in the various phases of the wartime behavior of society. A committee on war studies was shortly created with an executive secretary devoting full time to this task for two years. Plans have been made for twenty-five pilot studies in this field and scholars have been interested enough to undertake most of them. This committee has co-operated with the committee on the records of war administration sponsored by the United States Bureau of the Budget and together they have formed a national advisory council on war history under the chairmanship of Dr. Guy Stanton Ford. This body has been cordially recognized by the President of the United States.

Finally a committee on historiography has been constituted. A survey of research in American history had raised questions regarding the current thinking of historians and others on the nature and meaning of history. A conference made certain recommendations and was constituted a committee to carry them out. This group is interested in the nature of the prevailing

<sup>10</sup> Donald D. Parker, *Local History*, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson (New York, 1944). See review below, p. 591.

concepts of historians and the public about history. It is studying the possibility of more precise definitions of terms, of more rigorous standards of thought. It is preparing to report upon the current methods of historical thought and utterance.

## II

The experience of A.H.A. participation in the S.S.R.C. during the last twenty years thus summarized suggests a possibly more significant relationship between the two bodies in the future, for it reveals both a record of accomplishment and areas in which co-operation has fallen short.

Comparison of the character of research in history and in the sister disciplines shows a divergence of interest which leads scholars in other fields to point out that they do not receive from the historians the historical data or analyses that they would find most useful.

Social scientists tend to analyze the evolution of a given society in terms of some such outline as the following:

### History of a Cultural Group

#### A. Mobilization and Distribution of the Population

Physiography

Initial Migration

Natural Increase

Immigration, Emigration, and Redistribution

#### B. Organization of Institutions

Subsistence

Production

Distribution

Consumption

Reproduction and the Family

Health

Communication and Expression

Press

Literature

Arts

Adjustment

Protection and Restraint

Government and Politics

Morals

Morale

Recreation

Use of Leisure

Sport and Entertainment

Improvement

Religion

Philosophy

Science

Education

- C. Group Relationships
  - Racial and Cultural
  - Intercommunity and Interclass
  - International
    - Diplomacy
    - War
    - Economics
    - Culture

A careful comparison of this analytical outline with a survey of current research output among historians made by the council shows an overattention to some fields and a neglect of others. More attention is given to the institutions of control and authority, *i.e.*, political, and much less to those influences which determine the essential capacities, skills, and behavior of individuals and groups in society. It would be to the advantage of social science if a greater amount of historical interest could be directed into these latter channels.

More significant is the historian's tendency to shirk another responsibility. History is more than a fact-bearing handmaiden for the other social sciences. It has a distinctly intellectual function of primary importance, namely, the definition of long-term institutional trends. It should be ever active in seeking a dialectic and a technique of analysis. But there is a prevalent disposition to limit historical writing to narration. Historians may well pay more attention to such questions as the nature, origin, and influence of attitudes, the redirecting and accelerating force of cataclysms, and the dynamics of human behavior. Joint consideration of theories of social development would advance the frontiers of a science of society.

History is in a position to make a unique contribution to such a science. Any science, physical or social, is concerned with direction and seeks to plot lines of motion so that it may project them into the future and thus gain some knowledge of possible expectancy. Most of the natural sciences devise controlled experiments so that they can predict with some statistical accuracy what may happen under given circumstances. Social science seeks to discover such a method for studying the behavior of the human race. History supplies the fourth dimension to the social sciences, for it is the only one of them that is primarily concerned with the development of institutions over long periods of time—that stresses secular trends.

In this connection it has been suggested that there be attempted studies of longer time range than historical scholars are accustomed to make. Such constant recurrences as war and peace, such persistent attitudes as anti-Semitism, and the nature of long-term cycles in economic and other forms of be-



havior need to be studied not individually within epochs but comparatively over millenniums. At a time when there are pressing problems involving the control and redistribution of large aggregates of population and vast schemes for state-controlled economy, it is well to remember that the ancient empires faced similar problems. Would it be possible for ancient, medieval, and modern historians to work co-operatively in assembling knowledge of previous experiences and making it available for modern statesmanship? Also the leaders of the Christian states are faced with the necessity of gaining quickly much more intimate knowledge of Buddhist, Moslem, and Confucian ways of thinking and acting. Could not co-operative projects be formulated and developed by historians of the Western and Eastern societies and religions?

Also questions have been raised regarding the periodization of history. The profession has been using certain time-honored systems of dividing human development into epochs and of tying up scholarship in chronological compartments which have become well-nigh watertight. The committee on historiography is taking up this question in the light of a practical question now arising in American history. The great surge of events has vastly increased the content of the last period of American history, usually defined as "1865 to the present." But when and how will a new division be created? Haphazardly, as in the past? By serious interdisciplinary social science approach? By writers of texts and manuals, or by co-operative, planned efforts? Since the conventional periodizations were largely determined when the old-style political history was dominant, how useful are they now in the newer and enlarged concept of historical coverage? Is there any reason why the periodization of history should be left to chance? Certainly it affects the work of historians as well as the ideas of the informed public about the past.

Finally there is a question of particular moment to the historian as he approaches the problems imposed upon his craft by the complexity of contemporary confusions and the fruits of his own prowess. Historical data are now overwhelming in quantity. The vast masses of records daily being made and preserved in the splendid and numerous repositories created largely by the insistence of scholars have become literally stupendous. The historian's techniques for treating data have been built upon the idea of careful physical handling of documents, one by one, by individual scholars. Now that materials are available by the ton, such techniques are less practical than formerly.

The answer to the question thus raised is not easy. But it is true that the other social sciences have made notable advances in sampling and statistical

techniques, which provide means of handling masses of data mechanically and yet with surprising accuracy and which supply results interpreting the bulky accumulation. Is not co-operative study of this problem designed to apply more of this technical skill to history in order?

### III

Historians have a contribution to make to the social sciences which is fundamental. On the other hand historians can gain a great deal from more consistent study of the methods, points of view, and findings of their fellows in the other disciplines. There is unfortunately too much in the present organization of the collegiate and university world to emphasize division and rivalry, too little to invite and encourage co-operation. Closer association cannot fail to be mutually profitable. The historians cannot afford to minimize this opportunity by neglect or indifference.

The historians elected to the S.S.R.C. have always acted in a dual capacity. Primarily they have worked with their S.S.R.C. associates to advance the frontiers of knowledge and to perfect the interpretation of the facts. They have seldom departed from this role. On the other hand they are representatives of a discipline and in a sense have a special constituency. The delegation is always interested in reporting to the constituents and receiving their advice and counsel. Just now when the council is restudying its programs and purposes, such advice would be most valued.<sup>11</sup>

The last war set in motion new activities in the fields of the social sciences. During this present war there are many evidences of even greater impetus to these disciplines.<sup>12</sup> Scholars among them are already taking thought regarding new advances which can be promoted at the conclusion of the conflict. The Social Science Research Council more than ever has need of thoughtful suggestions and constructive criticism from its constituents.

<sup>11</sup> The delegates from the American Historical Association are Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, Shepard B. Clough, of Columbia, and the writer, at the University of Pennsylvania. They would welcome correspondence.

<sup>12</sup> Roy F. Nichols, "War and Research in Social Science," *American Philosophical Society, Proceedings*, LXXXVII, 361-64.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General<sup>1</sup> History

THE HOUSE OF MACMILLAN (1843-1943). By *Charles Morgan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. 247. \$3.00.)

How the origin and one hundred years' growth of a great publishing company can be presented interestingly, candidly, and adequately, though of course not fully, in one small volume has been demonstrated by this survey of the *House of Macmillan*, from the smallest possible beginning in 1843 to one of the largest and most comprehensive publishing concerns in the world. It might be called the history of the Macmillan family tree: its branching out in all directions; the variety of its fruit, in both kind and flavor; and the extent to which it has developed and satisfied the intellectual taste of the English-reading public in all fields for three generations. The book is almost wholly concerned with the English house, and gives only brief though appreciative reference to the development of the company in this country.

The two founders, Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, were poor Scottish boys who began their careers as bookseller's clerks or assistants, but soon, having acquired adequate experience and many friends, set up, without capital, a bookshop of their own in Cambridge. Although they had little formal education, they were wide and diligent readers with clear and steady purposes, and they effectively cultivated friendly and helpful relations with their customers. Daniel wrote that "most of the able young men in the University are our customers, and many of them most kind friends." Their shop became a center "where undergraduates and dons came to chat and read the newspapers." "Our retail trade," he wrote further, "will be chiefly valuable as bringing about us young men who will grow into authors." Their first book appeared late in 1843, and although for some time their publishing venture proceeded at a slow pace, chiefly in education and theology, it developed at a gradually increasing rate, broadening into social, literary, scientific, and practically all other fields.

This survey contains a large amount of most revealing information not only of the ideals, standards, purposes, and prejudices, the foresight and the errors of the publishers but also much of the personal as well as business relations of the publishers and their advisers with their authors—the give and take, the pressure and resistance, the controversies and the close friendships. These are made vivid and realistic by the inclusion here for the first time of many letters to and from authors, reader's reports, and other material, along with narrative and comment involving such names as Kingsley, Masson, Hughes, Palgrave, Bryce, Pater, Matthew Arnold, Gladstone, John Morley, Andrew Lang, Lewis Carroll, Henry

James, Hardy, Kipling, Yeats, and many other great and more recent ones in science, scholarship, theology, and education. As one reviewer has said, here is a mine of bibliographical entertainment; in no small degree the literary history of a century. It is a clear and suggestive overview of the co-operative purposes and achievements of authors and publishers in the growth and enrichment of intellectual interest and taste.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

FRANKLIN W. SCOTT

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION. By *Karl Polanyi*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. Pp. xiii, 305. \$3.00.)

WHETHER the historians like it or not, much that passes for history these days is being written by economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and students of psychology. It is not enough to point out that some of this "history" is the work of men ignorant in all fields perpetrating their balderdash on the subject they know least about. Doubtless many such books have been written; but there are others—books that represent an honest effort on the part of men not specially trained in history to come to grips with real historical problems. When the professional historian treats such works with aloof disdain, he is demonstrating not his superiority but merely craft snobbishness and jurisdictional jealousy.

Karl Polanyi, whose special field of study is economics, has written in *The Great Transformation* an inquiry into a historical problem; his effort is well worth the attention of historians. Polanyi's book in part deals with the effect of economic conceptions held by men of considerable power in the nineteenth century on the history of that century. The central conception is that of the self-regulating economic system with its corollary of free markets in labor, land, and money. Polanyi points out that no sooner was the theory of self-regulation enunciated and the attempt made to put it into practice than countermeasures were taken to prevent its full operation by the government and labor in the form of factory laws and unions and by the government and agrarian interests in the form of tariffs. Free (or commodity) money, however, survived to become the holy cow of the proponents of self-regulation. After the first World War, in most of Europe basic institutions of nineteenth century society—the balance of power system, liberal government, and the free movement of wages and rents—were ruthlessly sacrificed to the maintenance of the international gold standard because the prime requisite for the operation of the market economy had come to be the confidence of the business community in the free transferability of money in the world market. With the utmost ease the rise of fascism, concurring with the downfall of the international gold standard, collapsed the great institutions of the nineteenth century, whose foundations had already been sapped in the previous decades by their most ardent advocates. Polanyi does not present a chronological account of the process just outlined, but he fills in enough detail to make his narrative a most

satisfactory analysis of the relation of "liberal" economic ideals to some of the political, economic, and social developments in the Western world in the past century.

Despite the brilliance of *The Great Transformation* the work is marred by serious flaws. It would not be hard to set down a rather long itemized list of distortions of fact (not misstatement of fact) running through the book. This, however, would be an unproductive exercise since the distortions of fact themselves spring from distortions of method that are fundamental to Mr. Polanyi's scheme of analysis. The first distortion of method is a concomitant of the employment of the "culture-pattern" technique now popular with anthropologists. A culture pattern is a group of rationally related generalizations about a given society which serve to make intelligible a large number of observed facts about that society. The culture-pattern technique seems to work rather well on primitive societies, stable societies, and those aspects of a society in flux that are not themselves undergoing rapid change. In a changing situation the culture-pattern method gets into serious difficulties. It is useful only so long as it is conceived of as a force operating on social facts but not altered by them. It has to be a sort of mover unmoved or else its relations with the social facts become hopelessly confused; but in a changing society there is always a time before a particular culture pattern existed and a time after which it no longer exists. Since it can only make its entrance on and exit from the stage of history all in one piece, it is necessary to posit a revolution both to get it on and to get it off. That is precisely what Polanyi has done. He identifies the self-regulating market with "liberalism" and with the civilization of the nineteenth century. The Industrial Revolution, he says, was not a technological change but was the currency, land, and poor law legislation of England in the two decades after Waterloo. This revolution ushered in the self-regulating market. To make this thesis stick he has to twist the history of the eighteenth century into an unrecognizable shape by contending that it was a period of "interventionism," and to pretend that archaic survivals of Tudor social legislation interposed real obstacles to the operation of free markets instead of being mere peripheral nuisances. Having created a revolution to produce the summary birth of his culture pattern, Polanyi has no trouble in finding another revolution to bring about its demise, the fascist revolution of the 1930's. Yet while the conception of a self-regulating market doubtless showed signs of morbidity (or perhaps suffered a sea change) both before and after the rise of fascism, the idea has not disappeared. Those of us who listened to the campaign oratory of 1944 may suspect that Mr. Polanyi called the coroner before the body was cold.

The two essential requirements of the culture-pattern method—simplicity and unchangeability—result in a further distortion in *The Great Transformation*, the arbitrary threefold identification of the idea of self-regulation, liberalism, and nineteenth century civilization. Although the means by which the Benthamite founders of liberalism pursued their end was the self-regulating market, the end

was the attainment of human welfare and the amelioration of human suffering by means of legislation based on the empirical investigation of social facts. Most self-professed liberals from the younger Mill through Hobhouse to Sir William Beveridge have felt that this end constituted the permanent essence of liberalism, while the means, the self-regulating market, far from being sacrosanct, should be modified in the light of further knowledge. In this sense the liberal creed is anything but obsolete; but of this development Polanyi has nothing to say. It is no accident that excepting the egregious Mises he quotes not a single classical economist after the time of Ricardo. The culture-pattern method does not allow for the internal transformation of the pattern itself.

Another almost quaint result of Polanyi's use of anthropological data is the reinstatement of the natural man. The trouble with the liberal creed of the self-regulating market, he says, was that it was not natural. The economic man with his "propensity to truck and barter" far from being natural is a figment of the imagination, and his creators were trying to impose on society a utopia, against which men for self-protection set up the barriers that "liberals" deplore. In a sense the criticism is justified, but when the author turns around and on the basis of the customs of the Kaffirs and Trobriand Islanders constructs a "natural society" of a rather idyllic sort based on "reciprocity" and "redistribution," he presents a prettied-up version of the noble savage, the natural man of the eighteenth century, that is no more convincing than Adam Smith's eternal haggler. The truth of the matter is that any doctrine about the nature of man that attains the minimum consistency necessary to make it useful in a program of social action perforce does violence to the infinite variety of humanity. This is unfortunate, and it has resulted and probably will result in untold human suffering, but since no social action is possible otherwise, the only alternative to imperfection is stagnation.

It is the paradox of *The Great Transformation* that the merits of the book, the shrewd insights it exhibits throughout, are not irrelevant to Polanyi's distorted perspective but instead flow from it, or rather from the fact that he does approach the data of history with a considered point of view. He finds meaning in events and sees connections among them that historians with no coherent and reasoned point of view tend to overlook. And this is precisely the reason that "outsiders" are taking over the professional historian's work. They may see some meanings that are not there. Frequently they see connections that are there and that we missed because in our hearts we were not looking for much of anything. If we historians find the "outsiders" a bit bumptious and their vast generalizations about how things happened somewhat dubious, still we cannot afford to seal ourselves off from them. Rather we should examine their work with that active and receptive skepticism that T. H. Huxley once recommended, using the one instrument of which our training has made us masters, a sharp and vivid sense of the nature of historical evidence. By such means, and to the profit of their proponents, promising approaches to historical data can rapidly be cleared of the weird debris

that usually clutters them, and historians at the same time may gain a share of the lively insights that are the reward of pioneering.

*Washington, D. C.*

J. H. HEXTER

CITIZEN TOUSSAINT. By *Ralph Korngold*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. Pp. xvii, 358. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Charles D. Hazen once remarked that Lacour-Gayet's four-volume work on Talleyrand was a good, not a great biography. But he unqualifiedly pronounced Trevelyan's life of Macaulay a great biography. The chief basis for these judgments perhaps was the attitude of each of the two biographers toward his subject. Lacour-Gayet could see little good in the famous diplomat; he could neither forgive nor forget the treachery to Napoleon. Trevelyan on the other hand recounted in glowing terms the virtues and accomplishments of his celebrated uncle-historian.

If sympathy with his subject were the sole criterion by which to evaluate Mr. Korngold's study of Toussaint L'Ouverture, it would rate high. The tone of the book is indicated in the foreword. After noting that the Negro leader was a slave for forty-seven out of the fifty-nine years of his existence, the author asks the challenging question: "If Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln had had such a handicap to contend with who knows if they would have attained his stature?" In the pages that follow, divided into four parts (Haiti before Toussaint, Toussaint's climb to power, Toussaint rules, Toussaint's fall and death), Korngold shows how Toussaint surmounted his handicaps and became master of St. Domingue, France's most important colony, only to end his days a wretched captive in a French prison. For sheer ability and magnanimity of character this black man towered above others. Yet the Toussaint here depicted is not a "spotless saint." He practiced deception time and again, he enjoyed the favors of various mistresses white and colored, he looked the other way when Dessalines wreaked vengeance on the conquered mulattoes in the southern part of the colony—such were among his shortcomings.

A book like this puts the reviewer at a loss. Korngold does not pretend to have produced a work of research and has not. He points to the work by Pauléus Sannon as the only biography of Toussaint of value to the student. It would be idle, therefore, to complain because this fresh, vigorous interpretation of Toussaint's career lacks footnotes, omits from the nineteen-page bibliography a number of pertinent studies, and is marred by sundry errors of fact. The general effect is pleasing. The limitations of the biographical approach to history are not the fault of Mr. Korngold.

A great biography of Toussaint would present the national hero of Haiti, as does Mr. Korngold, as an extraordinary, even noble, figure who sought to maintain the freedom of his people. It would also do justice to Napoleon. It would



recognize that the sending of the Leclerc expedition against Toussaint in 1801 was merely one aspect of the reaction against the Revolution, a reflection of the desire of France to become again a respectable member of the family of nations which upheld slavery. In attempting to reduce the Negro general to subordination and set the sugar mills to turning anew for European profit, Napoleon hoped to accomplish what Pitt, with the aid of *émigré* plantation owners like Malouet, had failed to accomplish between 1793 and 1798. If Toussaint had sat in the Tuileries in Napoleon's place would he have done otherwise?

*The National Archives*

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE

THE FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR THE WEST INDIES, 1665-1713. By *Nellis M. Crouse*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 324. \$4.00.)

In this book Dr. Crouse continues his *French Pioneers in the West Indies* (1940) and traces an additional half century of European rivalry in the area. Since there is no good account in English of the French Caribbean colonies for the latter half of that period, it is unfortunate that in this work Anglo-French diplomacy is somewhat neglected and the economic aspects of the subject almost completely ignored. These years witnessed a continual struggle between England and France, with occasional breathing spells, which on one occasion amounted to a decade. The author is more impressed by the ability, enterprise, and daring of the French administrators, soldiers, and sailors than of the English. Although he gives several instances of rivalry between the various ranks of French officials in the area, the friction among the English administrators was even more pronounced, reaching unfortunate climaxes in the jealousy between Commodore Wilmot and Captain Lillingston and in the outright treason of two of Admiral Benbow's captains. Dr. Crouse considers that this phase of Anglo-French rivalry in the Caribbean ended in a stalemate, although he insists that the French West Indies entered a period of prosperity in the peaceful years following the Treaty of Utrecht.

This work is based upon printed sources and the better-known secondary works. The author has not explored the manuscript collections in the Public Record Office, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, and, much more significantly, those in the Archives Nationales. Such sources may well have been inaccessible when this book was written, but many transcripts and photostats from them are available in the Library of Congress and the Canadian archives at Ottawa. Nor have the contemporary pamphlets and periodicals been utilized, although many of the French and English ones are deeply concerned with the struggle for the West Indies, especially from 1689 to 1713. Even such well-known sources as the *Memoires de St. Simon*, or those of Sourches, and the *Journal de Dangeau* have not been consulted, although they frequently give the latest news (or gossip) concerning English and French preparations for West Indian expeditions. Josiah Burchett's *Naval Transactions*, another important source, has not been cited.

Altogether the bibliography is a bit scanty for so extensive a topic and is not annotated. Better-known secondary works, such as Commander J. H. Owen's *War at Sea under Queen Anne, 1702-1708* and V. T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington*, are omitted. Two of the reviewer's articles are listed, but a third, which is quite as pertinent, was missed. Although these criticisms suggest a counsel of perfection, such is not unattainable, as is shown by S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (1912), which discusses the economic aspects of the problem and is based upon a wide reading of unpublished as well as printed sources.

The work contains few errors, although it includes the customary misstatements (p. 250) about the Spanish Succession in 1700, which Sir Richard Lodge did his best to correct some years ago in an article in *History*. Although the narrative is clear, it would be made far more interesting if special maps of the separate islands had been prepared to illustrate the military campaigns. Despite all these criticisms, this is the best account in English of the latter half of the period. Fortunately, the footnotes are where every historian feels they should be.

Indiana University

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN

BRITISH ENTERPRISE IN NIGERIA. By *Arthur Norton Cook*, Professor of History, Temple University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 330. \$3.50.)

In the preface Professor Cook makes the claim that his is a detached point of view. This is a bold claim for an author to make of his own book, and it is, therefore, pleasant to be able to report that Professor Cook has indeed approached the history of Nigeria with an open mind. This probably also explains why he was so successful in obtaining help from Lord Lugard and other important actors in the last half century of Nigerian history.

Based for the most part upon printed sources, some of them not easily available, this book gives a straightforward account of the political development and the diplomatic background of the largest and most important British colony in West Africa. In a useful and clear fashion it gives the main facts of Nigerian history. By its side there is room for several descriptive studies of the other African colonies. Professor Cook is quite right in pointing out the neglect of African studies in this country and abroad.

Foundation studies of the African colonies are necessary in order that a still more essential task may be undertaken—the modern re-evaluation of imperialism, whether in Africa or elsewhere. The time has come for modern scholarship to go beyond J. A. Hobson, the Neo-Marxians, and the school of sentimental anthropology. Historical research on imperialism in England, France, and America is in a rut. The type of work done by W. M. Macmillan in England and J. H. Boeke in Holland has so far apparently attracted little attention. It is probably true that the war has been partly to blame for this neglect.

The capital problems in imperial history are no longer the fairly straightforward accounts of diplomacy, political institutions, and commerce. How have the centuries or the generations of contact with the Western world transformed the native races of the colonial regions? What happened to native institutions when they were compelled to carry the weight of Western individualism, modern science, capitalistic money-mindedness, expensive means of transportation, cigarettes, and taxes? How far has native society been drawn out of its own economy into vulnerable dependence upon a capricious world economy? What new problems have these transformations engendered? If there continues to be such a thing as trusteeship in the postwar world, what should be its aim? Should it be to preserve native institutions in the name of indirect rule and the dual mandate, or should it endeavor to stimulate the new forms of life that are arising out of the ruins of the old?

In two final chapters Professor Cook hints at some of these problems but does not pursue them. His book does, however, open the road to these problems. Let those who are attracted by them, however, remember that a conventional training in historical method, or a conventional trip to the Public Record Office, will not get them very far.

*Cornell University*

C. W. DE KIEWIET

WITHOUT BITTERNESS: WESTERN NATIONS IN POST-WAR AFRICA.

By *A. A. Nwafor Orizu*. (New York: Creative Age Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 395. \$3.00.)

THIS interesting volume gives American readers, for the first time, an opportunity to comprehend certain aspects of colonial policy in Africa from the viewpoint of the educated and articulate African. The author, who has attended mission schools in his own country and three universities in the United States, has accumulated a wealth of comparative historical and political data which give his gentle approach to the problems of his people an excellent background.

The modern African, *Orizu* implies, holds no grudges against European powers, but takes, instead, a positive attitude toward the future of Africa based on the following postulates: (1) that Africans are perfectly capable of governing themselves now, (2) that in order to compete on an equal basis with European nations Africans need to know more about international commerce and politics, and (3) that in order to deal in an equitable fashion with a self-governing Africa, other world powers must know more about Africans. The problem, thus, is one of education, both for Africans and for Europeans.

It should be mentioned, as a caution for the reader not already familiar with the African scene, that *Orizu* has, to some extent, confused the situation and aspirations of British West Africa with those of Africa as a whole, so that at no time are we quite sure of the degree of validity of his generalizations concerning

"African" attitudes. However, as concerns West Africa, Orizu's interpretations of the historical and contemporary scene, as well as his specific suggestions for the improvement of native administration, are well grounded and stimulating.

An extremely interesting section of *Without Bitterness* deals with the social philosophy which Orizu calls "zikism," a name adapted from that of Nnamdi Azikiwe, the foremost proponent of the official social faith of the Nigerian youth movement. This pragmatic program stresses education, democracy, African unity, and co-operation with European rulers to any extent which appears to further the cause of African freedom.

Although Orizu has mastered the intricacies of English prose style, his use of philosophical generalizations which parallel West African proverbs, his willingness to draw from legend for historical materials, and his lapses into fervent and fluid oratory, serve to reassure the reader that, in spite of an impressive Western veneer acquired through his experiences in American universities, the author is thoroughly and genuinely an African. And it is this quality, even more than his impressive display of well-marshalled facts and arguments, which gives his book *Without Bitterness* its essential validity as an interpretation of colonial policy "from the under Side."

Northwestern University

RICHARD A. WATERMAN

GREAT SOLDIERS OF WORLD WAR II. By Major H. A. DeWeerd, Associate Editor, Infantry Journal. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1944. Pp. 316. \$3.75.)

As the author himself admits, it is a bit early to attempt any serious evaluation of the major events of the war and of the leaders responsible for their direction. On the other hand, to cite Major DeWeerd's quotation of an old saw: "Truths can be seen wandering about the battlefield naked on the night after an encounter but by the next morning they are all in uniform." His effort to strike a balance between those two extremes is largely successful. At least it marks a long advance over the snap judgment which characterizes the day-by-day appraisals offered the reading public by the commentators in the press.

From Gamelin (definitely not a "Great Soldier of World War II") down to those like Eisenhower whose greatest days may still lie in the future, the reader is given a series of human pictures in broad cameo. The elements of strength and weakness in the character of each, and the little foibles as well—Montgomery's hobnailed egotism, MacArthur's flights into Biblical hyperbole, Hitler's paranoiac ecstasies—are combined into a series of vivid sketches of the men who have figured importantly in the events of the war. The major operations from which these "great captains" emerged into the limelight are skillfully employed to measure their effectiveness in action.

A number of well-intrenched myths are neatly dispatched. For instance,

Rommel as a beer-hall bully, lifted to high rank in the military hierarchy through the leverage of personal services to Hitler in the days of Nazi infancy, disappears. We discover instead a youth of middle-class origin entering the army in 1910 as a *Fahnenjunker*, serving with distinction on various fronts of World War I, pursuing a conventional military career during the twenty years of the truce, and eventually "labeled as a 100 per cent Nazi only when he was retreating or his army in trouble." Sheer merit brought him to the top. Rommel's brag and bluster may have irritated friends as well as foes, and his sail trimming to meet Nazidom's political gales made him *persona non grata* to the Junker generals. Such shortcomings in no way touched the fact that Rommel was a master of the strategy and tactics of the modern mechanized blitz. The author likewise disposes of the oft-reported "dismissals" of Timoshenko by Stalin, although in this instance the invariably closemouthed policy of Moscow leaves the evidence a bit thin. Timoshenko, it appears, was the ideal leader for breaking the heart of the German armies which were driving for Moscow in 1941. When a slashing Russian counteroffensive was wanted, Zhukov or some other leader was called in, while Timoshenko appeared on some other front where shaky defense lines had to be rewelded.

Military students will quarrel with the author on certain scores. For the most part the shortcomings of his interim report are inevitable in so early an appraisal of military leaders whose careers are far from run. Even without thought to the events since D-day in France, and particularly the recent German break-through into Belgium, Rundstedt belongs in any list that includes Wavell or Rommel—or any other leader cited. The same must be said for Yamashita, conqueror of Singapore after a campaign marked by a high order of generalship. Like claims to consideration could be made for Koneff, Zhukov, and Guderian, to mention only a few who have made their mark as troop leaders. A second category is equally deserving of attention, namely the men who worked in the field of strategy or of high politics and strategy. History has made due acknowledgment of von Schlieffen's claims to fame as a genius in the drafting of war plans. In the light of Germany's military successes to 1942, is not Brauchitsch's claim to recognition equally valid, even though, like Schlieffen, he saw his plans largely nullified by the "intuition" of higher authority? And what of Tojo, chief architect of the clique who designed Japan's military dominance of East Asia and the western Pacific? If we must have Gamelin as a gravedigger of France, Tojo surely merits a similar title as slave to a false military concept. And, turning to the United States, no one can be blind to the fact of General Marshall's contribution in his double capacity as creator of the modern American Army and co-ordinator in the supreme task of mobilizing the full resources of the nations opposing the Axis. Nor can one overlook the part played by our General Arnold in the forging and employment of an air arm surpassing the dreams of the Douhet school. Lastly, when one recalls Berlin's cold-blooded conclusion that the supply problem of the Allies would be insuperable, he must confess that the Somervell motto, "the impossible takes a

little longer," has primed the drive to a new high water mark in military production and logistics.

Major DeWeerd goes to the top rung of overall strategy to select for study such figures as the government heads of Britain, Germany, and China. DeGaulle is added for good measure, chiefly however as a prophet without honor in his own land, vainly attempting to convert his countrymen to the need of building a mechanized war machine. Conspicuously absent are Stalin and President Roosevelt. However obscure the details of their parts in directing the major strategy of the war effort, one can have no doubt as to where they will rank in the final record.

Most of these omissions can be accounted for on the ground that military secrecy precludes public discussion at this time of the part played by certain key individuals in the war. That black-out particularly covers our own leading nationals. Such an explanation does not suffice in the case of Stalin, leaving one to wonder whether considerations of policy, or of Moscow's secretiveness—or both—are responsible. In any event it is to be hoped that the author will look on his presentation as a first draft. The critical days ahead which will determine the hour and measure of our victory should bring to the fore not a few leaders who now stand just short of full recognition. It was late in the day when Sherman and Sheridan forged to the front. Grant would surely have lapsed into obscurity if President Lincoln had not backed, against powerful opposition, the general who trained on whiskey. And both Washington and Robert E. Lee would have been doomed to secondary roles if the cabals aimed at their elimination had been successful. The full race must be run before sound evaluation is possible. Major DeWeerd has given us an excellent interim report. That was apparently the limit of his objective. The shape of future events and the lifting of the black-out will provide the basis for the mature appraisal demanded by the importance of the subject.

*United States Military Academy*

HERMAN BEUKEMA

## Ancient and Medieval History

THE THEME OF PLATO'S REPUBLIC. By *Robert George Hoerber*. [Washington University, Department of Greek.] (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House. 1944. Pp. x, 119.)

THE author undertakes to prove that the *Republic* is not a political treatise, as its title implies, nor even a philosophical definition of justice but simply an ethical discussion of justice, as indicated by an alternative title, *On Justice*, the purpose of the outlined state being merely to "illustrate the soul of the individual" (p. 113). In support of this thesis, he lists a series of putative omissions and inadequacies: the disharmonies in the discussion on political legislation, such as the admission that the ideal construction is not a possible state; the treatment of the subject as

not being exhaustive; what he claims to have been a philosophical rather than a political purpose back of Plato's visits to Sicily; the lack of harmony between the political theory of the *Republic* on one hand, and the *Laws*, *Statesman*, and *Epistles* on the other; as well as Aristotle's interpretation of the work.

Dr. Hoerber ignores the fact that Plato himself (surely a first-class authority upon the theme of his own works) called the *Republic* a discourse *On Government* (*Timaeus* 17c), and besides goes so far as to express belief in the claim that Plato himself was responsible for the subtitle ("appears to rest upon good evidence," p. 76), a faith which familiarity with Ernst Nachmanson's masterly study of the titles of Greek books (1941; supplemented by F. W. Lenz in *A.J.P.* 65 [1944] 315-6), and with L. W. Daly's identical conclusions for Latin (1943), would presumably have rendered vain. Furthermore the source of Diogenes Laertius (3,60) called the *Republic* "a political dialogue," and Proclus (*Comm.* I, 9, 10 ff.) asserts that the subject matter is "politics and true righteousness." More important even than Proclus, because its source is pre-Neoplatonic (perhaps Theon himself), will be found to be the admirable treatment by Alfarabi (teacher of Avicenna), as now available in the edition and translation by E. Rosenthal and R. Walzer (1943), 24 and 25, the substance of which is that Plato was looking for a new social order, one that was fit for the life of a good man, since the contemporary order was incompatible with a true *vita humana*. Finally, if imperfections, whether putative or actual, in the execution of some intricate plan can be allowed to serve as conclusive proof that no such plan had ever been contemplated in the first instance, then a very considerable portion of the world's literature must necessarily be regarded as having had some purpose other than that which it has professed, or, in not a few instances, none at all.

The author has read the *Republic* with great care, he is thoughtful, and he argues ingeniously, but he has taken somewhat too little account of what his predecessors have already said on his subject. So imperfect, indeed, on several different counts is the bibliography that probably a more favorable impression would have been created had there been none at all. In the study of a work like Plato's *Republic* to ignore such names as Shorey, Wilamowitz, Schneider, and Greene (for the *Scholia*), among many others, is something almost astonishing. Especially unfortunate is the omission of an admirable paper by M. T. McClure (in *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Columbia University [1925] II, 27-48), with exactly the same title as the author's own dissertation. Mr. McClure has made it clear that the chief concern of the *Republic* is the age-old problem of how to be happy though good; or, as he puts it: the true thesis of the *Republic* is to show that "when the institutions of society are modeled in accordance with nature, the good life will also be the happy life" (p. 28). But Mr. McClure does not worry about a dichotomy between ethics and politics, which for a fifth century Athenian, as Plato was down to the period of his early maturity, would probably have been repellent, although certain aspects of such an occasional problem had been partially



foreshadowed in the *Antigone* and especially in the *Troades*. The Aristotelian separation of the two, although it remained for Aristotle himself chiefly a mere practical convenience in the classification of subject matter for his lectures, was nevertheless symptomatic of a change in attitude toward the sum total of social thought. This became conspicuous in the fourth century, ominously for all future time, and not least of all for our own age, when the morality of a private individual and that of an agent of the state only too often appear to be not entirely identical. In other words, the author's problem, as far as Plato himself is concerned, perhaps did not even quite exist; and although Plato would have recognized it, it may be doubted if he would have allowed it to be posed as sharply as does Dr. Hoerber.

University of Illinois

W. A. OLDFATHER and MARIAN HARMAN

MICHIGAN PAPYRI. Volume V, PAPYRI FROM TEBTUNIS, Part II. Edited by Elinor Mullett Husselman, Arthur E. R. Boak, William F. Edgerton. In two volumes. Volume VI, PAPYRI AND OSTRACA FROM KARANIS. Edited by Herbert Chayyim Youtie and Orsamus Merrill Pearl. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volumes XXIX, XLVII.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1944. Pp. xx, 446; xxi, 252, plates. Vol. V, \$5.00; Vol. VI, \$4.00.)

THE activities of the *grapheion*, or record office, of the village of Tebtunis in the early half of the first century are already known through the registers and accounts published in *Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I (*Michigan Papyri*, Vol. II [1933]). The 131 texts published in the present volume include a few more fragmentary documents of this kind and a variety of other documents for the most part prepared by the *grapheion*: petitions to strategus or exegete, a public oath, three tax receipts, ordinances and other documents of guilds, contracts of sale, leases, divisions of property, loans, receipts, etc.

The *grapheion* documents may be all ephemeral rather than official file copies. "None . . . show any evidence of having been part of a roll" (*i.e.*, the *tomos sunkollesimos*, which was the record office "file"). There are preliminary drafts left incomplete until certain names or certain measurements, boundaries or what not could be ascertained. A few have marks indicating cancellation. Many were prepared as duplicates for the contracting parties but were not taken by them because they did not need or want them or did not want to pay for them. However, taken together, they give a more complete idea of the amount and kinds of paper work done in the *grapheion* than the merely enumerative registers.

"The contracts and the subscriptions . . . do not individually contain much that is new or important," but there are always new words and new names, new situations and other new information of one sort or another in such collections of texts. For example, there are three new names of strategi; we learn that the emperor

Claudius had a private estate in Egypt; and it appears that the *grapheion* was under the direct charge of the *nomographos*, at least in this period.

There is a good deal of human interest in several of the property divisions, in the petitions to the strategus in cases of robbery and assault, etc. Certain groups of documents are connected with one another by the names of the contracting parties and reveal the business complications in the life of small property owners with large families. The editors have been at some pains to chart four families, each of a score of people, who bought and sold to each other or divided among themselves everything from a fallen house to an inheritance of a hundred acres of land and thirteen slaves.

One of the divisions of property (no. 321) is stated to be effective after the death of the father, while another (no. 322) is "from the present time." The editors, however, believe that immediate possession was given in both cases, though undivided in the first case. It is true that in both cases the father—in no. 322, the father and mother—are to receive during their lives regular payments of food and money; but the father in no. 321 receives only twelve artabas of wheat and twelve silver drachmas per year, and these are all paid by the oldest son, who receives the largest share of the property, whereas the father and mother in no. 322 receive twenty-four artabas of wheat, seventy-two cotulae of oil and three hundred silver drachmas. Was this difference due to the considerable difference in size between the estates or a difference in standard of living, or did the father in no. 321 continue with his farming as well as with his flute playing, on which his eldest son was to pay his tax?

One of the petitions (no. 231) is interesting in itself and also because of the difficulty of translating it. One of the villagers had made false accusations ("sycophancy") and assaults, and his victims had started procedures against him. Even when he was under accusation he attacked Kronion, as the editors explain "in the hope of frightening him to drop his complaint," but as they translate, "wishing to hound him by penalties so that, after having handed in charges, Kronion perished because of his poverty."

Volume VI, *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis*, may be considered a continuation of Volume IV, *Tax Rolls from Karanis* (1936), and of the Michigan "Humanistic Series," Volume XXXIV, *Greek Ostraca* (1935), and Volumes XXV and XXX, *Karanis . . . Report of Excavations* (1931, 1933).

The 65 papyri and 272 ostraca all come from the University of Michigan's excavations at Karanis, and, since their dates range from the second or first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., it would have been interesting to know something more of the respective areas and levels at which the finds were made (like the indications given in *Greek Ostraca*).

The majority of the texts are concerned with tax payments and with declarations, registrations, etc., for tax purposes. In no. 365, "Excerpt from the Minutes of the Epistrategus," the name of the epistrategus is new in the list of officials, and

some of the special privileges of Antinoites are specifically indicated. No. 368 gives a new terminus of the strategus Sarapion's tenure. In connection with no. 370, the editors bring up to date the list of known census registrations, and explain those which omit names of occupants of the property reported, as being made by or for absentee owners. On the basis of no. 375, the government's annual revenue in grain from the ninety-four cleruchies of Karanis in the second century is estimated at no less than 55,000 to 65,000 artabas.

In no. 383 the occurrence of the abbreviations *met*, *ent*, etc. (probably some form of double dating) are examples of problems not yet solved but advanced toward solution by additional evidence. (Cf. the reviewer's comments on *Columbia Papyri* [Greek Series, Vol. II], in *American Journal of Philology*, LVI [1935], 170.)

In no. 421 (a petition) the *archepodos* of Karanis pursuing thieves into Bacchias is himself arrested by the *archepodos* of Bacchias. "Nos. 422-426 are part of a family archive" (of which sixteen other documents are listed) and are petitions of one Gemellus against various abuses. No. 424 may "be unique among petitions . . . in its revelation of forbidden magical practices," the offender throwing a *brephos* ("embryo"), "intending to harm me in with malice"—or shall we say, "to encompass me with a curse"?

Both volumes are competently edited and equipped with full sets of indexes, and constitute useful additions to the corpus of source material for the economic and social history of Greco-Roman Egypt.

Brown University

HENRY B. VAN HOESEN

STUDIES IN THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS: SOME IMPERIAL VIRTUES OF TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS JULIUS CAESAR. By *Robert Samuel Rogers*, Professor of Latin and Roman Studies, Duke University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 181. \$2.25.)

THIS volume, first presented in large part in the form of lectures at the Johns Hopkins University, provides a welcome addition to Professor Rogers' thorough and illuminating studies of the times of the emperor Tiberius. The first part is devoted to a discussion of "some imperial virtues of Tiberius," namely, his *liberalitas*, *providentia*, *clementia*, and *moderatio*, the second to a historical and biographical study of Tiberius' son, Drusus Julius Caesar. In both the author carefully reviews all the ancient evidence that may bear upon his subject, and his study of Drusus is the more welcome in view of the compendious account now available in *RE*.

Under the Augustan regime public and private interest, loyalty to the emperor, and imperial propaganda alike led, not without influence from Hellenistic models, to increasing religious and secular emphasis upon the virtues of the ruler and created a tradition which Tiberius had to follow almost in his own despite. Since a

wise Liberality is a part of Providence, Rogers properly discusses the two virtues together, and for Providence uses Charlesworth's definition: "that foresight which . . . helped to secure the continued and peaceful existence of the state," was revealed in "the constant care and almost paternal solicitude which Augustus showed for the welfare of his subjects," and is manifested in three ways, "by caring for the welfare of the people, by providing for a stable succession, by warding off conspiracies." It is, in fact, very near to what we should call today a clear sense of official responsibility. The review, largely chronological, of possible examples of Tiberius' acts of Liberality and Providence does not focus clearly which are definitely so labeled in our sources and which are not, and the ancient allegations of parsimony are deliberately laid aside. The known *liberalitates* fall considerably below the Augustan standard in amount (*cf.* *ESAR* 5.14 ff.), but on the whole confirm our view of Tiberius' wisdom. Real disasters and genuine need brought sympathetic and generous action. It is somewhat ironical that his economies withdrew money from circulation and helped to precipitate a crisis that made further Liberality necessary, and that the Providence which detects conspiracies so thoroughly defeated the Providence which supplies a well-trained and responsible successor. Was it all due to Tiberius' ill luck? The author's conclusion, that Tiberius, "*not less than his predecessor* [*italics mine*] possessed the *providentia* . . . which the good ruler must manifest or fail of being a good ruler," is perhaps too sweeping. In the discussion of Clemency, Rogers rightly reminds us that this virtue is exercised, not upon the innocent, but upon the guilty or those presumed to be guilty, and makes good against Sutherland his position that there were examples of Clemency throughout the reign. The occasion of the Ara Clementiae in 28 A.D. is more problematical. Rogers holds that it celebrates the decision to banish Agrippina and Nero upon charges less serious than treason. Yet Tacitus asserts that action against them came only after Livia's protection was removed by death in 29, and gives little hint of the nature of the *pavor internus* (*Ann.* 4.74.1-3) that led to the voting of the altar. The evidence for actual conspiracy on Agrippina's part remains indirect, and the date implied in Suetonius (*Cal.* 10.1) may be mistaken. His Moderation entitles Tiberius to a special place among Roman emperors, and Rogers has performed a useful service in recounting the examples and emphasizing their significance. He has however hardly reckoned with the problem raised when Moderation is shown by refusing honors which are quietly accepted later (Taylor, *TAPhA* 60 [1929] 87 ff.). This leads to a more general criticism. One misses a general discussion how far the notion and practice of these virtues shows any development from the Augustan models.

In the section on Drusus Rogers makes out a probable case for the view that he and Germanicus were *Principes Iuventutis* by 9 A.D. His achievements in Illyricum gain deserved recognition, both his firmness with the mutinous legions and later his diplomatic success in establishing the Regnum Vannianum. The beginning of his quarrel with Sejanus is plausibly dated about 20 A.D. One further

point: in discussing the Gytheate decree Rogers follows Rostovtzeff in referring the "Aphrodite of Drusus Caesar" to Livilla; yet she is coupled with the "Victory of Germanicus," which no one has had the hardihood to refer to Agrippina. It appears that two virtues or qualities are wanted. Sulla Felix was termed in Greek Epaphroditus and was devoted to the cult of Venus Felix, while Felicitas and Victoria alike became connected with Venus. This gives support to Taylor's suggestion (*loc. cit.* 88) that Felicitas is probably the meaning here. We should then have a related and balanced pair, the Victory of Germanicus and the Felicity of Drusus.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

CAESAR AND CHRIST: A HISTORY OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION AND OF CHRISTIANITY FROM THEIR BEGINNINGS TO A.D. 325. By *Will Durant*. [The Story of Civilization, III.] (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1944. Pp. xvi, 751. \$5.00.)

THE publishers of this volume tell us that the success of Dr. Durant's *Story of Philosophy* (1926) made it possible for him to devote his entire attention thereafter to the large-scale history of civilization which he had been planning since 1914. Two volumes of this history have already appeared, *Our Oriental Heritage* (1935) and *The Life of Greece* (1939). Each was well received by the general public while scholars admitted that in them popularization maintained very high standards. There is no reason to doubt that equal success will attend the present volume, which deals with the history of Rome from the Etruscans to Constantine. Dr. Durant's style is easy and sober, enlivened with humor; his allotment of space to the various aspects of Roman history is good; his judgments are interesting though not very profound; illustrations are well chosen. He has written a much better book than might be anticipated from publicity advertising it as written in terms from yesterday's headlines, and it is even possible that the author squirmed a bit when his publishers hailed him as a new Gibbon.

An academic critic does not find it easy to review such a book for a learned journal because it was not written for scholars and its author makes no pretensions to scholarship. He obviously had a certain amount of training in the classics as a youth, but when he relies upon this training the results are not happy. Thus he remarks that "every schoolboy knows the story of the *Aeneid*," but he goes badly wrong in his own summary of that story. He is more successful when he relies upon modern writers, for his choice of authorities is usually good though his acquaintance with historical literature is limited largely to works such as Ferrero and the volumes in Henri Beer's series, which discuss the subject for the general reader. Dr. Durant tends to exaggerate striking statements made by such writers. A zealous mistake-finder would criticize something on nearly every page, but, except in moments of scholarly wrath, he would probably admit that most of these mistakes concern details that are not important for the story as a whole. The book

should never be used as a work of reference, but its version of Roman history is interesting and moderately accurate. Dr. Durant includes a fuller account of early Christianity than is usual in such works, and in it he does not try to carry water on both shoulders. He once studied for the Roman Catholic priesthood but now he approaches the subject from a liberal point of view, with Guignebert as his principal guide. He gives a sympathetic account of the life and teachings of Jesus, though he feels called upon to censure our Lord gently (p. 562) for being "unbiologically harsh on the desire of a man for a maid." It may also be remarked in passing that here, as in his earlier volumes, it is principally in matters pertaining to sex that the author permits himself that luridity which his publishers call to our attention.

Dr. Durant announces plans to complete his great work in two further volumes, promised at five-year intervals. It may seem strange that so modern-minded a man as he should devote three fifths of a world history to the period before 325 A.D. He will probably find no difficulty in covering the Middle Ages in the next volume, to be entitled *The Age of Faith*, but an equally full account of modern times would require at least three volumes the size of the one before us. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the author will complete his ambitious undertaking for, in spite of its many weaknesses in detail, this history of civilization is a work well worth writing.

*University of Illinois*

J. W. SWAIN

UNIVERSITY RECORDS AND LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Lynn Thorndike*, Professor of History in Columbia University. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor, Number XXXVIII.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 476. \$5.50.)

THE university is a tangible heritage from their European forebears that Americans can readily understand and appreciate. Now those who will read have conveniently at hand in this rich collection of documents illustrating its history from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, translations containing information previously hidden in the medieval Latin, French, or German of the originals. Many of the selections are from the Paris chartulary and from the collections for Bologna, but there is great variety, and few readers, if any, will have easily accessible in their own libraries all the sources from which Professor Thorndike has gathered these materials. His wide knowledge of medieval intellectual history and his expert control of the bibliography of so many phases of medieval life are abundantly reflected in the choices he has made here. Modern editions and also the older compilations have been grist for his mill, and, happily, he has chosen to include selections from manuscript sources as well. The most significant of this type is the "Commendation of the Clerk" (Vatic. Palat. lat. 1252), translated on pages 201-35 and given in the original Latin in Appendix I. This document is rich in information of many sorts and in particular has much to say about students below

university grade. Its long opening section, however, may prove tedious reading for those not familiar with medieval ways. Other selections from manuscripts are No. 118, "Law Advertising at Bologna"; No. 119, "Texts Required for A. B. Degree at Erfurt, 1420"; No. 122, "Academic Itinerary, 1422-1427"; No. 126, "Quodlibeta of 1429 and Before"; and No. 143, "Academic Exercises at Ferrara." Like any such collection, this too must be accepted as reflecting the point of view and particular interests of the compiler. Some would exclude certain of the selections in favor of others; possibly some would wish more references to Oxford and Cambridge; the reviewer might include some of the vivid sections in the Paris proctors' books—but what Thorndike has given has been chosen with learning, skill, keen insight, and deep understanding of one of the most interesting phases of medieval life. If much that he has included is familiar to the scholar, he has enriched the familiar by so thoroughly garnering his materials and casting his nets so wide. Surely this is a volume to stand in every library close to the Powicke-Emden edition of Rashdall and near d'Irsay's more general but useful survey of university life.

The 176 selections in the book are arranged in chronological order. The brief introduction supplies information helpful to readers seeking to group documents according to place of origin or searching for topical information, and the index furnishes references to the many important and distinguished names that appear in the documents. For the reviewer this chronological arrangement seems most satisfactory, for, as Thorndike points out, medieval universities were all very much alike and regional differences and peculiarities were not characteristic as they are in universities today. The originals from which these translations were made are in themselves rarely classic in form and no translator can hide cumbersome sentences and paragraph structure, prolix argument, and other infelicities of the medieval writers. In a few instances even Professor Thorndike could not quite make out what the medieval author had in mind.

As these documents are read seriatim few will fail to remark the faith academic groups seem always to have had in the making of rules and in passing resolutions. In fact the multiplicity of rules and regulations indicates implicitly how ineffective and fruitless so much academic debate could be. One wonders just how many seasoned Parisian lecturers mended their platform manner in compliance with the decree of 1355 (No. 83). At any rate the materials gathered together here give precious insight into so much that is eternally human. Who will fail to recognize those masters who, "moved by envy . . . scorn to admit well prepared subordinates to professorial chairs" (No. 70), or those students who "attend classes but make no effort to learn anything" (No. 71)? And it takes little imagination to picture the consternation at Heidelberg in 1396 that brought forth a rector's proclamation forbidding students to catch the burghers' pigeons. And what anxieties that boy wonder, Fernando of Cordova, must have caused the Parisian masters following his arrival in town in 1445 (No. 148). It is evident that not all the enactments of medieval university bodies were immediately or even ultimately put into effect. A



careful reading of the English proctors' records shows, for instance, that in all probability the order (No. 85) of May, 1358, closing the Street of Straw at Paris was not carried out until some years later. Professor Thorndike has made a real contribution to university studies in Appendix II where he provides a useful map and discusses the foundation and location of colleges at Paris in the later Middle Ages, a topic which Rashdall covers only briefly and where even his recent editors are too frequently in error and one still needing further careful investigation.

*Alameda, California*

GRAY C. BOYCE

LIBERTIES AND COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: COLLECTED STUDIES IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND TOPOGRAPHY. By *Helen M. Cam*, Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 267. \$3.75.)

THIS is a "collection of sixteen studies in medieval local history linked together by the belief that medieval local government can only be understood through much short range study of particular places and institutions." It accomplishes fully the usual intent of such publications: to reach more readers than have the separate pieces scattered (in this instance from 1923 to 1939) through reviews and bulletins or as delivered before learned societies; also, and of greater importance, to make clearer the general drift and result of so large a fraction of the author's life work.

The specialized nature of these studies has led Miss Cam, in her valuable introduction, to comment on the relation between the antiquarian and the historian. The former, she says, "holds the live end of an unbroken thread running back into the past he is exploring." The historian often does that too, especially since the momentous day when Maitland taught us how to go "beyond" Domesday. Perhaps the author would classify her "The Hundred outside the North Gate of Oxford" as antiquarian or her "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism" as historical; but rigid classification is not needed, for here surely we have antiquarianism of a sane and helpful type. Throughout we are made to feel a persisting antiquity of institutions from "beyond" the Conquest, the "inveterate dislike of scrapping the obsolete or obsolescent." Even things Celtic are not beyond the pale. We see strong kings as preservers of localisms, from Alfred to the Plantagenets; a type of feudalism constructed "which made it a political education for the privileged"; privilege as the basis of corresponding duty; and the agelong habit of all classes, "transmitted through Anglo-Saxon, Dane, and Norman, of accepting responsibility for the order, liberty, and justice of our own neighborhoods." It would be hard to find a greater theme than this last, and sometime the long story of political responsibility must be told. The author, in all her research, has found and interpreted material relating to it.

As would be expected from Miss Cam's other published work there is much here about the favorite old enigma of the hundred. She rather confirms its royal,

West Saxon source, overlaying, but not erasing, an older communal organization; and there are some newer things about groups of hundreds and the later private hundreds, where the laborious study of villein and free pedigrees, preserved through "the tenacious memory of the illiterate" has revealed an unexpected source. Other themes can be barely mentioned: controverting Professor Stephenson's theory of the later, Continental-like origin of boroughs; a rare bit of crucially needed comparative study, showing why the old popular judgment died out in France and did not in England; the sheriff's declining power paralleled by increasing duties as the instrument of central government, his office becoming professionalized; the quo warranto proceedings of Edward I, where the author is on such familiar ground, shown in their true intent and accomplishment, leaving the Earl Warenne and his rusty sword very shadowy; emphasis on royal control of private jurisdiction—writs *vs.* "liberties"—writs from the writ of right on leading to control of, or a share in, the "liberties"; wise things said on social, economic, legal, military, and constitutional feudalism—pre-Conquest, post-Conquest, and "new"; and the last two studies (1939), dealing with early parliamentary constituencies, notably illustrating how the very objective work of a later generation has deflated and corrected older grandiose generalizations. Many diligent and modest followers of Maitland, Tout, *et al.* are making us know more about what our antecedent institutions actually were.

University of Minnesota

A. B. WHITE

THE EARLY HISTORY OF DEPOSIT BANKING IN MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE. By *Abbot Payson Usher*, Professor of Economics in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume LXXV.] Volume I. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xx, 649. \$5.00.)

THE scope of this book is considerably greater than the title indicates. It is the first of two volumes, which, if the promised second is comparable in value to the present one, will constitute an excellent, and in certain respects a definitive analysis of a host of troublesome phases of the economic history of the Middle Ages and the centuries following. The first part of this volume, for example, on the structure and functions of the early credit system treats seven of the major aspects of the subject in as many chapters, each of which in turn brings into view in well-marked divisions almost as many subordinate phases of the subject indicated in the chapter heading. Primitive banks of deposit are satisfactorily described as an introduction to an important chapter on the development of early instruments of credit, leading the reader on to a discussion of the development of modern commercial paper. By way of the fairs and interregional clearance, less original than most other portions of the work, yet critically comprehensive in treatment, the author passes to a presentation of long-term lending and public debts. There follows an admirable chapter on the quantitative importance of credit in early and in modern monetary systems wherein a broad grasp of the

matter is displayed. The final chapter in the first part courageously attacks the complex subject of currencies in medieval and early modern Europe, wherein many controversial points are covered with a minimum of possible confusion to the reader. It is to be noted that the first part of the book is not limited to Spanish developments but aims at giving a general picture of banking and allied problems in Mediterranean Europe, which is conceived apparently as a background for the second part of the volume dealing especially with Spain. The author appears to deal sometimes inadequately with Italian developments, but doubtless this will not be true when the second volume promised is before us.

The second part of the volume, somewhat more than half of the whole, is a penetrating description of almost every conceivable phase of banking in Catalonia from 1240 to 1723. The eighteen chapters are focused mainly on deposit banking and credit creation. Here Professor Usher has made his most notable contribution, based on minute examination of manuscript materials; no pains have been spared to present what may be regarded as practically complete documentation of actualities. With actualities the author assuredly comes to a grip, heartily welcome when one recalls the errors and confusion prevalent in supposedly authoritative general historical and economic works. The subject matter, as the author modestly suggests in his preface, may not be novel, but certainly the treatment of the wealth of materials is significantly illuminating, not only for the history of Spain but by implication and inference for that of the whole Mediterranean region. The reader is left wishing the promised Italian volume were at hand from the same competent hand.

Professor Usher's volume will stand as a major contribution to the economic history of the period, one to which all workers in the field will perforce constantly refer. Idle indeed would be any list of minor queries concerning petty points upon which doubtless many students familiar with the field might dwell; to descend to minutiae in view of the high virtues of the author's work, broad in vision and at the same time founded on acute examination of very difficult materials, would be captious. In the appendixes are nine currency tables for Castile and Catalonia and a glossary of eighty pages of technical and administrative terms, Catalan-English, of commendable clarity, followed by five pages of English-Catalan, the purpose of which is less evident when one observes the care with which so many Catalan terms have already been defined and explained at length with what the reviewer supposes is authority and certainly is confidence. The bibliography of both manuscript material and printed literature is in keeping with the high standards maintained throughout the book; the index is satisfactory. The style and format of the book are all one would expect in excellence from the series of which it is the seventy-fifth. Not often are learned works in economic history so well written as is this study, wherein the English flows with a precision and charm the more attractive because apparently unstudied.

*Barnard College*

EUGENE H. BYRNE

## Modern European History

## THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited by *W. S. Lewis*. Volumes XI and XII, HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MARY AND AGNES BERRY. Edited by *W. S. Lewis* and *A. Dayle Wallace* with the assistance of *Charles H. Bennett* and *Edwine M. Martz*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. lii, 378; viii, 402. \$15.00 per set.)

ALEXANDER Pope knew

... a reasonable woman,  
Handsome and witty, yet a friend.

When over seventy years of age Horace Walpole discovered not one but two such paragons, young into the bargain. Their names were Mary and Agnes Berry. His letters to them in the course of the next eight years furnish most of the text for the volumes under review. Our own admiration for Mary Berry, the chief correspondent and Walpole's literary executrix, is tempered by the evidence, circumstantial to be sure, that she destroyed all but eleven of her own letters to Walpole. This fact combined with the existence of little hitherto unpublished material, one letter from Walpole and his "Book of Visitors," make the new volumes somewhat less interesting than their predecessors. On the other hand, the plan of classifying Walpole's letters according to the correspondent, followed throughout the edition, together with skillful editing have resulted in an effective addition to the series thus far published.

The subject matter of these letters is never momentous. "Trumpery," Walpole himself labeled it. The fact is that he did not select these friends to be his correspondents but as close companions. When he was obliged to depend on the post he wrote, so he said, as he would have talked: of himself, of them (*ad nauseam*), of Strawberry Hill, neighborhood gossip, and news as it now came to him only through callers or the papers. Witticisms, anecdotes, literary allusions were calculated to provoke gay returns in kind. Somber shadows of the French Revolution, however, frequently fell across the sunlit lawns of Strawberry Hill. Crimes done in the name of liberty raised doubts in Walpole's liberal mind.

Here are human documents presented in a form to make them more than ever useful as an entrance into this strange period of English history. Mary Berry was in a way an embodiment of an age in which Englishmen sought to hold back the hands of time: conservative, yes, but modern enough to declare "any sort or shadow of occupation for women" desirable (II, 123).

Admirable as are the notes, for the student of history they leave something to be desired, especially in connection with allusions to governmental institutions. For example, there is no reference to the droits of the admiralty, which Walpole obviously had in mind when he humorously suggested that the king seize a cer-

tain duchy as a "wreck" (I, 104). The custom of franking letters, so important to Walpole, especially when he did not enjoy the privilege, and so destructive of post office revenues, does not receive a line in the index. General warrants should merit, so it seems, a note of factual information (I, 315).

Such faults of omission, as well as the irregular margins which injure the appearance of these volumes, may perhaps be excused as part of the inevitable casualties of the war. Certainly failure to explain allusions of the kind mentioned above is a less serious blemish on these pages than it would be in the case of other sections of Walpole's correspondence, such as the Mann or Conway letters, to the publication of which historians naturally look forward with keen anticipation.

*Wilson College*

DORA MAE CLARK

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT: THE *MONTHLY REPOSITORY*, 1806-1838, UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF ROBERT ASPLAND, W. J. FOX, R. H. HORNE, AND LEIGH HUNT. With a chapter on RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS, 1700-1825. By *Francis E. Mineka*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 458. \$4.00.)

ON the relation between radicalism and dissent in nineteenth century England much research has still to be done. What we lack, specifically, is a mass of monographic material on which general studies can be based. Mr. Mineka's book represents exactly the type of thing needed to fill the gap. His subject is the history of the *Monthly Repository* (the journal of the Unitarian movement) throughout its entire brief life, 1806-1838. The topic is well chosen. It is neither too narrowly and mechanically conceived nor too broad to be capable of documentation. Though modest in scope the book is thoroughly sound and useful. Its value—a very real one—is that it gives a workmanlike and well-arranged summary of the materials to be found in the *Monthly Repository*. This journal cannot easily be obtained and even when available it is not convenient to use. But it is an invaluable source of information about currents of ideas among the Unitarians.

Criticism in the *Repository* dealt not only with religion but also with literature and politics, and Mr. Mineka discusses each of these three aspects separately. In religion the *Repository* is of interest today not so much for its learned defense of the Unitarian cause as for its being one of the first channels through which German Biblical criticism spread into England. In literature it gave early recognition to Browning and Tennyson and was the first magazine to publish Browning's poetry. The political element in the *Repository* was prominent from the start, and under the editorship of Fox (1828-1836) the journal broke away from its sectarian connections and became an important organ of the radical party. In this, its most brilliant period, the contributors included Harriet Martineau, John Stuart Mill (both in great quantity), Ebenezer Elliott, John Bowring, Southwood Smith, and many others notable in their own day. In general the political sympathies of the *Repository* were radical, and it took its line from the utilitarians and the classical economists. Its sympathy for the underdog was tempered by the coldly scientific

economic doctrines of the day. In its pages Mill wrote in defense of the new Poor Law and the wage-fund theory. Yet, on the other side of the picture, the *Repository* as early as 1817 published articles attacking Malthus and praising Robert Owen. And Mill, in articles appearing in 1833 and 1834, was qualifying his acceptance of Benthamism and discussing the problems of distribution in a way that foreshadowed his later conversion to a kind of socialism. Early English radicalism was by no means so consistently hostile to the poor as some of its modern detractors have assumed. Mr. Mineka's book contains a great deal of illuminating material, and he should be praised for his concrete contribution to the study of British radicalism and its religious associations.

*Smith College*

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *J. M. Thompson*, Sometime Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College and University Lecturer in Modern French History. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 591. \$5.00.)

It would be difficult and manifestly unfair not to pay the highest tribute to Mr. Thompson's engrossing and detailed volume on the Revolution. Without question this synoptic and well-illustrated study from the pen of England's foremost student of the French Revolution is the most valuable to appear in his country since the publication of Lord Acton's once famous *Lectures*. Wise, learned, and measured are the three words that characterize it. Every chapter reveals his extraordinary scholarship, based on the widest reading, his own researches, and a lifetime of fruitful teaching. Not that his grasp of the subject derives only from his long familiarity with the titans among his predecessors, Aulard, Mathiez, Sagnac, Kropotkin, and Lefebvre, to mention only the most outstanding. For his keen discussions of the more specialized aspects attest eloquently that he has kept himself fully abreast of the researches of the younger scholars in France, in England, and in the United States, too, for that matter, though one would scarcely suspect so from reading his curiously ill-chosen list of the fifty best books on his subject.

To be sure, nothing startlingly new for the professional student emerges from his pages. But such readers, it is to be hoped, will be only a minority. To the non-specialized English readers (in England even more than in the United States), to those nurtured on a diet of such popular expounders as Carlyle, Nesta Webster, and Madelin, his thoughtful work offers a new and rich interpretation. If clarity of writing and sobriety of interpretation are virtues that are not caviar to the general, his book will go far to make intelligible the role of individuals, the issues involved, and the profound transformations effected by a movement that, as a whole, English readers have never understood very well. His account is not marred by the bitter partisanship that disfigures even the best of French scholarship. Nor is his study in the slightest tainted by the once familiar moralizing that sought with more heat than light to resolve the sterile inquiry whether the

Revolution was good or evil, true or false to France's historic destiny. As an Englishman and a good liberal, Mr. Thompson does not conceal his basic aversion to such desperate remedies as revolutionary solutions. He even insinuates an unnecessary caveat on occasion. But the transcendent merit of his writing is that he understands his period, and he suffuses this understanding of the complex five-year period from the opening of the States'-General to the fall of Robespierre with great historical sympathy and deep humanity. The Revolution, for all its eddies and currents and its more or less distinct phases, remains a bloc.

Particularly thoughtful is his detailed yet incisive handling of such emotion-provoking crises as the capture of the Bastille, the *grande peur*, the September massacres, the Girondin-Jacobin death duel, and the effort of the Triumvirate to usher in the republic of virtue. The pages treating these developments are exemplary for their historical balance and their fine psychological grasp—without benefit, it may be said in passing, of Freudian language—of the combination of loftiness of aims, brutality of means, and nakedness of calculation that went into the fashioning of these climaxes.

The most valuable and careful passages dealing with the earlier constructive years of the Revolution are those in which the author links economic and social issues with the political struggle, the provinces with the capital, the peasantry and workers with the middle classes, and perhaps most of all his searching evaluation of the institutional changes brought about by the deputies of the Constituent Assembly. On the other hand, what distinguishes his story of the turbulent days of the Convention is his remarkably penetrating treatment of Jacobinism: Jacobinism militant, triumphant, and agonizing.

Of the victory of Jacobinism, which assuredly he does not like, Mr. Thompson writes:

This could not have been done simply by the intrigues of a party, or the threats of a mob. . . . It meant that Jacobinism was now identified with the Revolution. . . . It meant that anti-Jacobinism . . . was identified with counter-revolution. For better or for worse, the French people would have it so. The dictatorial regime of the Jacobin group was not imposed upon the Convention from outside: it was evolved from within.

On Jacobinism triumphant, the author takes over but humanizes Mathiez' thesis on the continuity of the dictatorship, modifying it and rewriting it in the light of his fundamental antipathy to centralization and compulsion.

But there was no exact point at which a man ceased to be a Girondin and became a Jacobin; and there was no exact point at which the country changed over from a Girondin to a Jacobin government. The process of conversion started behind the battlefront. It was due, not to the shock-troops of argument, but to the para-troops of hard fact. . . . Power had been passing from the men who believed in persuasion to the men who believed in compulsion. . . . The removal of the Girondins, like the removal of the king, did not reverse the engine of state. It only released the brakes which had hitherto retarded its progress.



Again in characterizing the Jacobin regime as a constitutional expedient of the greatest importance, Mr. Thompson states:

It was an expedient due to sheer political necessity. Robespierre had been right when he said, in his report of December 25th, that the Jacobin theory of government was "as novel as the Revolution that led to it," and that it was no good looking for it in books by political writers who had never anticipated such an eventuality. It was happy improvisation. That is, after all, how constitutional changes are generally made.

And before closing his work with the now familiar thesis of how the Triumvirate went down because the Jacobins fell into the most dangerous snares of dictatorship, Mr. Thompson again makes clear that however much their regime may seem a government by a minority to modern historians, the French people accepted it during the years 1793 to 1794 not because they were wanting in the spirit to rebel against a regime that they learned to abhor but because they lacked the desire then to throw over an administration which they continued to trust.

*Washington, D. C.*

LEO GERSHOY

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GIAMBATTISTA VICO. Translated from the Italian by *Max Harold Fisch* and *Thomas Goddard Bergin*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 240. \$2.50.)

IN presenting Vico's autobiography to English readers, Mr. Max Fisch and Major Thomas Bergin have furnished the first English translation of any of Vico's major writings. Even for those who read Italian easily, Vico's language is difficult, and the convenience of having a scholarly English version such as this one is very great. It is good news that the same translators are at work on the *Scienza Nuova*.

Vico composed his autobiography at intervals when he was resting from his labors on the first and the second *Scienza Nuova*. He did not write in the spirit of self-revelation but at the request of scholars who planned a series of intellectual autobiographies. His motive, therefore, is primarily didactic, and perhaps because the impulse to write was an external one, the tone of the autobiography is stilted and formal. Vico lacked the simple candor which brings thoughts and feelings alive. He produced a stiff narrative in which he solemnly quotes the funeral inscriptions he composed as if they were of comparable significance with his major writings. Only when he speaks of the train of reading and reflection which prepared his mind for the composition of his New Science does the autobiography acquire a tone of vigor and certainty. But it is rich in details which will interest students of the history of ideas.

The introduction to this book is intended to serve also for the forthcoming translation of the *Scienza Nuova* and therefore presents a good deal of information about Vico and about the intellectual milieu of Naples in his period. The results of Croce's studies of Vico's reputation and influence are made available, and

new ground is broken in the account of Vico's reputation in America and of his influence on the Marxist tradition.

The translators do not attempt an independent appraisal of Vico's thought, but their own point of view is apparently that of the historical relativists. They salute Vico as the Galileo of historical studies. But as soon as interpretation is required, it is doubtful whether history should claim the neutrality of science; it is more doubtful whether imaginative constructions of a historic whole—whether those of Vico, Marx, Spengler, or Toynbee—are in any sense scientific. Of such problems Mr. Fisch and Major Bergin seem unaware. They do not ask *why* Vico is claimed as an ancestor by the pseudo-philosophers of Fascism and of Nazism; they simply record the fact. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether they are presenting their own opinions or summarizing Vico's, but there is no expression of disagreement with his fundamental position. A letter from a young American now serving in Italy suggests questions that a writer like Vico fails to answer:

Gradually I have been trying to formulate a few working principles on a number of questions that have had me fairly well paralyzed since my graduate school days. Not very abstruse ideas—simple things like deciding right and wrong political directions. And I have been fighting like hell to overcome the numbness of historical relativism in which I was so thoroughly immersed.

As Emerson remarked, "Thought is fate as well as corn."

*Bryn Mawr College*

LAURENCE STAPLETON

#### CHURCH AND STATE IN SILESIA UNDER FREDERICK II (1740–1786).

By *Francis Hanus*, Sacerdos Diocesis Berolinensis, Former College Professor on the "Liceo Aleman de Concepcion" and the "Collegio Aleman de Santiago de Chile," Instructor and Lecturer in the U. S. A. A Dissertation. [The Catholic University of America, S. Facultas Theologica, No. 79.] (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. x, 432. \$3.00.)

In seizing Silesia Frederick the Great acquired a large population, about half of whom were Roman Catholics, and thus raised the important problem of the relation between the Protestant state and the Catholic church. On this there exists a mass of good material in the documents published by Max Lehmann and Theiner and in the writings of Frederick himself and of Grünhagen, Koser, Hintze, and other historians, but there is little in English. It is therefore a good problem to study. Unfortunately it cannot be said that Dr. Hanus has dealt with it satisfactorily. His book is pretentious, repetitious, and inaccurate.

The author has tried to cover too large a field. Beginning with Charlemagne, he devotes seventy-nine pages to a pious but rather irrelevant account of the spread of Catholicism in medieval Brandenburg as a background to the later period under the Protestant electors, when "Catholics lived without rights and were persecuted" (p. 58), always "treated as second class citizens . . . somewhat like a better sort of slaves" (p. 258). Then come two chapters on Frederick the Great's views

on religion, the church, and philosophy, in which the author makes the point that Bayle was the strongest intellectual influence on the Prussian exponent of Enlightenment. Part III sketches the history of Silesia through the centuries, showing how it was primarily the German Catholic monks and bishops who gradually brought the territory from Polish to German rule and culture.

In Part IV the author comes to his main theme: Frederick's treatment of the Catholic church in Silesia. Unable to persuade the canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Breslau to elect his candidate, the king disregarded their canonical right of election and successively imposed two candidates of his own. Unfortunately these two men appointed by the king were ambitious, vain, worldly, and of unchurch-like life. Serving their own interests or those of the king rather than the best good of the church, they are rightly denounced by the author. "They followed the King like dogs; but none of the canons did so" (p. 255). As many of the most important questions are more or less dealt with in three successive chapters on the three bishops, there is inevitably a good deal of repetition in the next five chapters on Frederick's relations with Rome, the monks, the Jesuits, the Silesian clergy and on the relations between Catholics and Protestants. Finally come five chapters to prove in theological terms what is quite evident—that Frederick's exercise of royal patronage as Protestant *summus episcopus* was not in accord with canon law or the claims of the Catholic church.

There is much that is interesting in this volume, but the author does not inspire confidence in the accuracy of his statements. He often cites works without giving exact page references, even in the case of quotations. A dozen of his titles are inaccurate. His quotations are often very loosely translated, without any indication of omitted passages, and are occasionally ludicrous. D'Argens' remark that one of Frederick's satirical pamphlets was regarded by Catholic Austrians as "plus dangereux que Spinoza" is rendered as "more dangerous than espionage" (p. 294). When "the liar and deceiver of Potsdam" (p. 294) finally brought a happy conclusion to the patronage quarrel by the compromise proposal that the election of the bishop of Breslau should be made by the canons but in the presence of one of Frederick's officials, the pope accepted the proposal; his remark, "l'élection sera seulement une formalité, le souverain sera toujours maître de la faire tomber sur celui, qu'il voudra," becomes in translation, "The sovereign will always be master in the matter of dropping whomever he wishes" (p. 273). More than thirty of the footnote references are incorrect. In addition, there is a formidable list of some seventy misprints or misspellings headed by the British philosophers "Chaftesbury" and "Rolongbroke" (pp. 112, 420, 429).

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE JUNKER IN THE PRUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION UNDER WILLIAM II, 1888-1914. By *Lysbeth Walker Muncy*, Instructor in History and

Government at Sweet Briar College. [Brown University Studies, Volume IX.] (Providence: Brown University. 1944. Pp. ix, 256. \$3.00.)

THE present world conflict has produced many discussions on the critical future of Germany. Germany, we are told, has been ruled by Prussia, and Prussia by the Junker class. This oversimplification contains some truth and some confusion. Thus it was an excellent idea to do some thorough research work on the Junkers' influence in Prussia. The author has made a special study on the Prussian administration under William II. She has used as basic materials some primary sources as the *Handbuch über den königlich preussischen Hof und Staat*, and, of course, the *Gothaische Genealogische Taschenbücher*, and all available secondary sources, such as memoirs, biographies, etc. Some German refugees of distinction gave her valuable advice. The result is a good and useful book, fair in spirit, well-considered in judgment, clear in method, lucid in organization. One must congratulate this young scholar for the high accuracy of her work, especially as it deals with so many foreign names and conceptions. The very few misprints and mistakes (for instance, "Moscow" instead of "St. Petersburg," p. 47) are negligible.

However, there are some objections of a more general character. If one writes a book on the Junkers, one should make it perfectly clear what is understood by a Junker. In my opinion, the conception "Junker" has three different meanings—a philological, a sociological, and a political one. Originally, Junker meant the son, later on, the younger sons of a noble family (*i.e.*, Jungherr, the young master). "Junker" for some time was identical with the French "cadet" and therefore was taken over like "cadet" into the military vocabulary. "Fahnenjunker" means ensign or cornet. Meantime the word Junker became usual for the description of all members of the low nobility in Brandenburg-Prussia. The title of baron there was unusual. The vassals were mediate, not immediate liege men of the territorial lord nor of the emperor. The imperial aristocracy used to consider these "Herren von—," who lacked any other title, as not being quite their peers, an attitude which, of course, irritated the Brandenburg-Prussian noblemen. There are instances of some of them describing themselves as "barons" when traveling abroad in order to avoid underestimation of their social standing. The well-known diplomat Fritz von Holstein, for example, did this. In Holland still, the lowest degree of the nobility is called "Jonkheer." Therefore, I think, it is not correct, as the author does, to include the counts, who are members of the high nobility, in the Junker class, as for instance the families Eulenburg, Schwerin, Lehndorff, Zedlitz-Trützschler. There existed a distinct difference between the counts and the Junkers, not only in wealth but in social style, education, interests, and ambition. Silesian counts also, as the Hochberg, Hatzfeldt, Pückler, were *grands seigneurs* of an almost international type who disliked and ridiculed the somewhat boorish average Junker. The "magnates" of the Altmark (province of Saxony) or of East Prussia, including counts and barons, used to emphasize their higher stand-

ard as distinguished from that of the Junkers, and they had good reason to do so.

To make the political role of the Junkers perfectly clear, the author should have told us that there existed in Prussia under William II four different groups—the *Landadel* (landed aristocracy), the *Hofgesellschaft* (court society), the Conservative and Free Conservative parties and the *Bund der Landwirte* (alliance of agriculturists). The first two groups had a social character, the third a political one, the fourth tried very successfully to combine political aims with economic interests. The Junkers were not identical with any one of these groups. But in all four groups the Junkers exercised an almost decisive influence for political purposes, as a unity, because of their strong clan spirit and tough instinct for mutual support, in spite of their individual shortcomings. The Junkers were most powerful in the Mark Brandenburg and Pomerania, but even in the other six provinces of so-called East-Elbia practically no measure could be carried out without taking care of their special wishes. The author makes some good remarks on East Prussia. Certainly this province was by no means the cradle of Junkerism as some people think who have not yet discovered the difference between the eastern provinces of Prussia and the province East Prussia. Many East Prussian noblemen were liberally inclined, as students of their great countryman Immanuel Kant. This attitude gradually changed after 1848, but a curious combination of particularism and loyal independence, animated by monarchic romanticism, prevailed among them later on, in the period of the Weimar Republic.

Quite correctly, the author lays some emphasis on the fact that a Junker landlord could become a *Landrat* (director of a county) without the usual training and a passing of the necessary examinations. Out of a total of 328 Junker *Landräte* she counts ten to twelve cases, a number which seems quite considerable in a period as advanced as that of Emperor William II. One could further supplement this study by discussing some cases of aristocratic army officers who were allowed to join the German diplomatic service without the obligatory special examination. This was of course outside the subject of this book, and it is linked with the more general question of Prussian militarism.

When dealing with the typical Junker family of von Below, the author should have dropped some remarks on Georg von Below, the well-known historian who became remarkable for applying his methods of limited and rather bellicose Junker spirit to scholarly pursuits. All the author says on the tension between Junkerism and judicial leaders, or on the lack of economic and technical interest of the Junkers is correct, but it could have been deepened from a more psychological standpoint. The legal state (*Rechtsstaat*) remained strange to Junkerism.

The overpowering influence of the students' associations having an exclusive character is well known. It was a usual German slogan to speak of a young nobleman as of a person who was doing his studies "at the Hasso-Borussians in Bonn," which meant that the membership of this famous "Corps" was the really important fact, while the university and the faculty counted less! I know a case of a young man who was the son of a Junker general and an American mother. From

his mother, who came from a well-known New York family, the boy had inherited a spirit of liberalism and independence which handicapped the relations with a rather rigid father who, of course, wanted the son to join the Hasso-Borussia in Bonn. On her deathbed the mother had to persuade the general to drop the plan and to spare the son the experience of having to live in an atmosphere so contrary to his convictions.

Many bourgeois families were eager to adapt themselves to the Junker style. The author has given Wolfgang Kapp, the leader of the Putsch of 1920 as an example; he, however, never was ennobled. A better example would have been the grandson of the famous Berlin oculist Albert von Graefe. Young Graefe inherited from a distinguished ancestor, who had been ennobled for his medical merits, a big fortune but nothing of the wisdom and social consciousness of the old doctor. He became a Pomeranian *Rittergutsbesitzer* (gentleman farmer) and behaved in a more feudal way than the genuine Junkers of this most reactionary Prussian province. When elected to the Reichstag, the younger von Graefe delivered a rather arrogant maiden speech, which was interrupted by the Social Democratic deputy Philipp Scheidemann, later a Reich cabinet minister and temporary president of the cabinet, by the exclamation, "*Talmi-Junker!*" (fake Junker). The incident aroused the amusement of all parties of the house.

The author, however, does not say anything about a development in a direction contrary to this feudalization. Many German Junkers became bourgeois by selling their estates, sometimes because of lack of male heirs, and by investing their capital in the usual securities and bonds; the transactions were followed by considerable, even if only temporary economic success. These gentlemen used to remain conservatives and contributed to the formation of the most typical class of the period of William II, the neofeudalism of birth and wealth. Gradually, most families of this type lost their genuine Junker qualities, they began to participate in the new luxury of bankers and industrialists, they dropped traditional puritanism and protestant orthodoxy, and some of them even adopted the spiritual and moral elasticity of the time.

We do hope the able author will continue her research on the political and sociological development of the old ruling class in Prussia and Germany.

*Library of Congress*

VEIT VALENTIN

OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT: THE RISE OF THE TOTAL STATE AND TOTAL WAR. By *Ludwig von Mises*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 291. \$3.75.)

THIS extremely readable and stimulating book presents two aspects of unequal value. The one is a restatement of the belief, current a century ago, that in a world of perfect and unhampered capitalism, of free trade and democracy, there would be no incentives for war and conquest. This faith is as utopian as the presently widely accepted myth that in a world of unhampered socialism and of the common

man there would be no incentives for war. Professor Mises is an unrepentant believer in individual liberty and free enterprise which have been the glory, and have built up the strength, of Britain and the United States. Though the reader may doubt whether a "pure" capitalism has ever existed, or can ever exist, in reality or is not rather as much a regulative fiction as "pure" socialism is, nevertheless with the present tendency toward, and glorification of, collectivism the warning voice of liberalism which Professor Mises truly represents may have its value. In the desirable society of free men, bureaucracy and governmental control of economic and social life are necessary evils which must be strictly controlled and wisely used. Some people today deny or forget that they are at their best only results and restraints of human and social imperfection and have nothing good in themselves; Professor Mises, on the other hand, overlooks that whatever their dangers they are nevertheless necessary.

By far more important, and in many ways brilliant, is the interpretation of recent German history in Part III of the book. Professor Mises rightly recognizes that the focal point of the modern crisis of human civilization and of the disturbance of world peace has been, at least for the last sixty or eighty years, in Germany. True, violent attacks upon peace and civilization have lately come from Japan and Italy. But without Germany, these two countries would have never become a military or spiritual danger. The present war "is a German war as was the first World War. It is impossible to conceive the fundamental issues of this most terrible of all wars ever fought without an understanding of the main facts of German history. Many mistakes could have been avoided and many sacrifices spared by a better and clearer insight into the essence and the forces of German nationalism."

After 1870, according to Professor Mises, German nationalism became aggressive because the Germans discovered that they were powerful enough to subdue Europe or even the world. Young and vigorous, compared with the "degenerate" Western nations, virtuous and disciplined warriors, highly educated and diligent, they had nothing to fear from the "profit-loving" Britons, the "corrupt" French, the "cowardly" Italians or the "barbarian" Russians. Britain could rule the waves only because the politically disunited Germans have, after the passing of the old Hansa, neglected sea power. Oblivious of their historic mission, the Germans have indulged in fighting among themselves. The Hohenzollerns first, Hitler later, united the Germans, revived the true German spirit, and fitted them for their *imperium mundi*. That was the background of that Pan-Germanism which animated not only Nazi hotheads but worthy famous professors like Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner who at the turn of the century demanded that "at all costs" thirty million Germans be settled in southern Brazil (with communications safeguarded by battleships) and wrote that in this coming "struggle for space" "idle pretensions like the Monroe Doctrine are not an unsurmountable obstacle." Professor Mises underlines the fact that not Junkers and big business



initiated and inspired this German nationalism, as the popular theory runs, but professors and writers who converted the youth and influenced all classes. The essential ideas of national socialism were completed long before 1914. Hitler only adapted them to a different constellation of political and social circumstances. Internal disputes of parties and classes in Germany after 1880 were less about the ultimate aims than about the methods of German foreign policy. It is wrong to accuse the Social Democrats of betraying the masses in voting for war credits. The masses approved the war and their leaders acted only democratically. The workers fought loyally and enthusiastically in the war of 1914 as they do in the present war. Only when the hoped-for victory did not come and the privations became unbearable, the workers began to understand that they had misjudged the war and its probable outcome.

Regarding the Treaty of Versailles Professor Mises restates some of the obvious facts. The war, not the treaty, caused German misery. If the treaty had been enforced, Germany would have been unable to start a new war. The Polish "corridor" undid the effects of earlier Prussian conquests. It was not the fault of Versailles that the Teutonic Knights had conquered a country not adjoining the Reich. The reparation payments did not impoverish Germany. If the Allies had insisted on their payment, they would have only hampered Germany's rearmament. Somebody had to pay for the damage inflicted; what the aggressors did not pay had to be paid by their victims. The grievances of the Germans did not concern Versailles but primarily the consequences of an "unfair defeat" and *Lebensraum*. Nor did Nazism have its origin in economic depression. Other parties recommended panaceas but they did not win the German masses; in an international depression only in Germany the party carried the people which recommended armaments and war as a panacea for the economic crisis.

This analysis of German nationalism is not new but it is presented by Professor Mises with cogent arguments, with many illuminating references and in a brilliant style. The reader may disagree with the purely economic motivation of the intellectual and political events of the last century, he may think that German nationalism is much more deeply imbedded in German history and intellectual development than Professor Mises does; yet whatever his disagreement, either with the general approach or with some of the value judgments, he will read the book with unflagging interest. And he will learn some new aspects of a problem central to our times. He will find the discussion of what Professor Mises calls polylogism as one of the elements in the disintegration of civilization especially rewarding and his remarks about peace schemes one of the best brief summaries of what can and should be done after this war, a summary which reveals the trained economist who has a pertinent knowledge of the recent history and mentality of different peoples and civilizations.

Smith College

HANS KOHN

THE REAL SOVIET RUSSIA. By David J. Dallin. Translated by Joseph Shaplen. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 260. \$3.50.)

Mr. Dallin's *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942* and *Russia and Postwar Europe* have deservedly attracted a great deal of attention and favorable comment. His last book is, perhaps, even more incisive than the previous two.

The volume is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of "the real Soviet Russia." It attempts to set down some of the essential facts concerning the character of the Soviet regime. Mr. Dallin has also imposed upon himself the task of exploding some of the current misinformation on the USSR.

The conclusions the author reaches on several of the topics examined are radically different from most of the forecasts of Russia's future one reads these days. To cite one: Mr. Dallin claims that "the trite phrase that 'Russia will emerge from the war stronger than she was before' is ill founded." He also advances the thought that great internal changes are bound to come, to which the course of war, the price of victory, and the postwar situation in Russia are a prologue.

The gravamen of the book lies in the few pages on the population problem in chapter vi, "The New Social Structure." Parenthetically, these pages present a trenchant and, to this reviewer, convincing criticism of *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union*, published in 1944 by the League of Nations. Mr. Dallin asserts that the population of European Russia, "the heart and the brain of the country," will probably decline after the war to the level of 1914 (with the number of males falling even below this).

The analysis of the class structure (chapters vi to xi) forms the core of the book. It includes a summary of the evidence concerning the number of persons engaged in forced labor in Soviet Russia and describes the conditions of their life. The author makes reference to estimates, ranging as high as twenty million persons comprised in this group. The "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of the USSR, form a class, according to Mr. Dallin, which is "not less and possibly greater than the total number of industrial workers at liberty in Russia." The author asserts that the social-economic system of Soviet Russia cannot exist without forced labor.

The chapter on the Communist party contains some interesting information. In 1905, says the author, the Bolshevik party had in its ranks "in all probability" more members belonging to the lesser nobility than manual workers. And at present a mere 10,000 to 15,000 party members in and around Moscow constitute the real party.

The text is not footnoted. True enough, there are more than four pages of sources arranged by chapters. This list suggests that Mr. Dallin has delved deep into the available evidence. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that so controversial a volume was not extensively annotated.

Because of this lack it is difficult to trace the source of some of the author's

statements. To cite two instances: On page 24 it is said that members of the old nobility were accorded material privileges by the Soviet government and that military conditions "resembling closely those that had prevailed in the old army were even fostered for their benefit." On page 33 it is mentioned that many orthodox priests in regions of Russia occupied by Germany had entered into collaboration with the enemy. At the same time, of the four church dignitaries listed in support of this assertion three had their sees in the Baltic republics and not in prewar Russia.

A query presents itself to this reviewer's mind: Is the information that is available today to the social scientist in the West ample and sufficient to warrant conclusions on the social processes in the course of development and, particularly, on the future of the Soviet Union, or is it only of a definitely and admittedly tentative nature?

Within these limitations, Mr. Dallin has contributed a very original, although highly subjective, analysis and has offered a well thought out prognosis.

*Indian Rocks, Florida*

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RUMANIAN JEWS IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES. By *Joseph Kissman*. [In Yiddish.] (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute. 1944. Pp. 118.)

THE three studies comprised in this well-documented book are entitled "Old Rumania and Its Jews"; "Jewish Emigration from Rumania Prior to the First World War"; "The Jewish Labor Movement in Rumania to the End of the Nineteenth Century." A brief English summary is appended. Avoiding the polemical bias which runs through the literature on this subject, Kissman finds that the mistreatment of the stateless Jewish minority, including natives of Moldavia, stemmed chiefly from above, as in tsarist Russia. The Russian pattern, however, with its waves of pogroms coinciding with periods of revolutionary ferment, differed from the Rumanian, for the boyar oligarchy intensified its anti-Jewish policy precisely when it felt most secure. Thus, although the excesses suffered under the latter were relatively bloodless, the measures directed against Rumanian Jewry formed a more unrelenting series. The emigration of this group, which reached its height at the turn of the century, was stimulated by administrative pressure rather than by the spread of anti-Semitic violence. Kissman's brief account of the youth groups of *fussgebers*, who trekked across the Continent to board ships for the New World, is a fresh and valuable contribution.

Official American interest was aroused by this exodus and led Secretary Hay to address a note in 1902 to the powers which had recognized Rumanian independence in 1878. One wishes Kissman had given more attention to the circumstances surrounding that recognition, which was granted despite Bucharest's

evident bad faith in regard to the status of the Jews. Thus, America's humanitarian gesture had, in a sense, been nullified in advance.

With Jassy as its center, an articulate Jewish labor movement arose in the late eighties. Starting within the ranks of the Social Democratic party, the Jewish group soon discovered that the ambitious and fairly unscrupulous leaders in control at Bucharest, who were agitating for universal suffrage, saw no reason to include the Jewish population. Underlying this conflict, which led to the exclusion or withdrawal of the Jassy group from the party in 1895, Kissman sees a conflict between the conservative outlook of the Wallachian center and the more radical and idealistic philosophy of the democratic elements in Moldavia, under the influence of Russian *émigrés*. The Rumanian section of the Second International did in fact merge with the Liberal party in 1897, and the isolated Jewish wing survived the debacle for a year or so. With the revival of the Socialist movement in 1910, the demand of equal rights for Jews was incorporated in the party program as a matter of course. This issue, as is well known, arose to trouble the Peace Conference in 1919, at which Rumania's representatives were again compelled to commit their country to a pledge regarding the status of the Jews.

*Washington, D. C.*

JOSHUA STARR

THE RISING CRESCENT: TURKEY, YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW. By *Ernest Jackh*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. Pp. x, 278. \$3.50.)

THIS work by a former German professor who now teaches at Columbia University is a highly colored apologia for Turkey. The title is somewhat misleading in that there is little of yesterday in it, and that little is included to serve a definite purpose. The Turkey of yesterday and the day before, we are told, was founded upon a model statecraft. The Turk kept a clean and orderly house of his own, and wherever his arms extended—to the Balkans and beyond in Europe, to southernmost Arabia, or to North and West Africa—there order was brought out of chaos. The Ottoman Empire was and long remained the home of tolerance (p. 41). The "cultural and social state of most people was higher after they had become Ottomans than before" (p. 72). Everywhere the Turk bestowed the blessings of good government upon all his subjects. Religious and racial minorities were given privileges unknown in western Europe; and if at times these minorities were maltreated, or even massacred en masse, one must not condemn such acts without "bearing in mind the time factor" and the circumstances under which these acts were committed (p. 42). This glowing picture of the Turks of yesterday is surpassed only by the author's unmeasured adulation for the Turks of today. Turkish nationalism is something pure and sublime and is not contaminated by the narrow nationalism of the West. Turkish life is "in accordance with any bill of human rights" (p. 179). The School of Politics at Ankara is superior to anything

of its kind in the world, for "one could search in vain in both Europe and America to find its equal" (p. 189). Lastly, it will be news for the taxpayers here to learn from this source that the Turks have "paid cash" for all lend-lease material (p. 194).

Idyllic portrayals of brutal facts are not unknown even in contemporary annals, but very few would dare to carry them to such extremes as to insult the reader's intelligence. And it would be idle on the part of this reviewer to try to correct even the most glaring mistakes of facts. He will point out only a few of these. The documents on the German-Turkish alliance of 1914 were made available on three earlier occasions, and *not* for the first time here (*Die Auswärtige Politik des Deutschen Reiches, 1871-1914*, IV [1928]; Mühlmann, *Deutschland und die Türkei, 1913-1914* [1929]; *id.*, *Das Deutsch-Türkische Waffenbündnis im Weltkrieg* [1940]). This alliance of course preceded, and *did not* follow, the Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916) and that of St. Jean de Maurienne (1917). Kiderlen-Wächter never held the rank of German ambassador at Constantinople. The idea of an American mandate over parts of Asiatic Turkey did not originate with the King-Crane Commission. Modern Turkey is not "created within historic and national boundaries of a Turkish state," for Turkey never had a rightful claim over the Sanjak of Alexandretta (*cf.* Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1936, pp. 767-68). As for the author's opinion on Talaat, one should check this against the estimate of Gooch in *Recent Revelations in European Diplomacy* (1927, p. 130).

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

# THE GREEK FOREIGN DEBT AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1821-1898.

By John A. Levandis. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 137. \$2.25.)

THE problem of the Greek foreign debt was so completely interwoven with the political maneuvers of the Great Powers in that country, that the treatment of what might be supposed to be a very dry subject becomes one of rather fascinating interest. This brief account of the Grecian foreign debt is carefully told by the author with a restrained criticism of the financial plunderers of his beloved country that is truly commendable. Mr. Levandis has consulted the most important official publications in the preparation of this work, primary sources in the Greek, French, and English languages as well as the most important secondary sources including significant periodical articles. A detailed bibliography follows the text. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of a key Balkan power in its relations with the European states in the nineteenth century.

The trials of the fearless Grecian insurgents in financing the revolutionary movement of 1821 are recorded in the first chapter. In this early period as well as later, the approach to Grecian financial needs by the representatives of the Great

Powers was determined by their political power interests. To the speculative greed of foreign investors was added mismanagement and reckless expenditure of funds by the Greeks themselves in the revolutionary period. The loans of independence, as the earlier borrowing was called, were followed by the "Guaranteed Loan of Sixty Million Francs," in 1833. Political vagaries plunged the unhappy country into difficulties, with the result that, at the time of the Crimean War, an Anglo-French military force occupied Piraeus, the port of Athens, for three years beginning in 1854. There followed an International Financial Commission of Inquiry, which investigated the resources of the country and its public expenditures, and sought to recommend fiscal reforms. The result was moderate improvement in the relations of the debtor Greeks and their European creditors.

In the period from the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 until 1890 the Greek debt continued to expand. It was a period of national development for the little country with no provision to care adequately for the economic consequences. Military expenditures and "modernization" resulted in constant foreign borrowings, which brought on a state of virtual bankruptcy and the suspension of the debt service by the Greek government. Pious outcries by the bondholders followed, with the press of England, France, and Germany inveighing loudly against the Greeks in inelegant language. The debt problem was further intensified by the pitifully useless war of 1897 between Greece and Turkey over the Cretan question. Again the powers stupidly denied the union of Crete with Greece and imposed a heavy indemnity, which the defeated Hellenes were required to pay to the Turks. Finally a plan of financial control was worked out, based but little on the welfare of Greece but designed to guard well the interests of the foreign nationals.

Actually the "Great Protectors," as the powers professed to be, pursued an unduly harsh policy against this helpless people. Indeed the Greeks were held to the unjustly exacting financial obligations until the very moment in 1941, "when an impoverished and fighting Greece was combating the onrush of a common brutal enemy" (p. 113). The European powers have little of which to be proud in their financial dealings with this heroic land, although it is to be admitted that individual Greeks may be included in the same condemnation. It is ardently to be hoped that liberated Greece, at the close of World War II, will not be regarded as a pawn "to be exploited by scheming protectors, but as a nation which has paid with prolonged agony the price expected of those who prefer to live in a world of decency and honor." We are in Mr. Levandis' debt for this balanced and clear account.

*New York City*

EDGAR J. FISHER

## Far Eastern History

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By *Kumar Goshal*. (New York: Sheridan House. 1944. Pp. viii, 375. \$3.00.)

IN the work under review the author, a young Hindu scholar, has presented the fundamentals of (a) India's cultural heritage, from the days of Mohenjo Daro, some five thousand years ago, to the advent of modern Western contact with India, (b) a brief account of the nature of the East India Company's rule in India, (c) British rule in India and the rise of Indian nationalism, (d) the constitution of British India adopted in 1935 and its operation up to the present time, (e) India and the second World War, (f) the Cripps mission and its failure, and (g) the present trend of Indian politics and the responsibility of the United Nations toward the solution of the Indian problem.

Mr. Goshal, in a simple and lucid style, vigorously presents the points of view of an Indian nationalist of the left wing and pleads for India's political freedom, increased and effective industrialization, which is essential to raise the standard of living of nearly 400,000,000 persons, and India's active and whole-hearted co-operation with the United Nations against the Axis powers and establishment of international peace based upon justice and freedom for all peoples.

The author rightly contends that in the present war against Japan, Indian aid and co-operation is a very vital factor in the victory of the cause of the United Nations. "In the post-war world, too, India is bound to play an important role, due to her geographical position, her large population, and her immense natural resources. A free India, industrialised, is essential to the political and economic betterment of the Far East. Instead of lowering the standard of living of the British people, a free India, with a higher standard of living and greater purchasing power, will contribute more than ever before to the genuine welfare of the people of the British Isles."

This work is a welcome addition to growing literature on India. It will serve as an excellent introduction to the study of present day India for the American general public including teachers.

*College of the City of New York*

TARAKNATH DAS

TREATY PORTS. By *Hallett Abend*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. 271. \$3.00.)

THIS book, one of the "Seaport Series," is both more and less than its title implies. More in that it is, in the main, a popular history of treaty-era relations between China and the West, with some attention to Japan. Less in that the aspects of treaty-port life selected by the author as characteristic, while always interesting and in many instances novel, are far from exhaustive. Mr. Abend deals with the treaty-port "system" as the backbone of Sino-foreign relations. He lightens the narrative with sprightly descriptions of port administration and society at



different periods. While the book makes no pretensions to being the product of original research, it is a serious work which reveals substantial use of standard histories. It is neutral in tone but not without forthright comment upon events and policies.

Mr. Abend describes quite fully the nature of the early trade at Canton, particularly that of the United States. He pictures the Chinese culture of the city, a contrast of opulence and poverty. The rise of American interest in the China trade, consequent upon Great Britain's easy victory and the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, is told with attention to striking incidents and personalities. President Tyler's letter of June 27, 1843, to Emperor Tao Kuang, designedly couched in terms that remind one of a Chinese imperial rescript, is hardly to be called "driveling babble." Its patronizing tone was in line with the attitude of merchants and missionaries that is especially stressed in this book. Apparently the author deprecates smugness and readiness to prevail by force, yet he writes, "It is an uncontrovertible fact that China needed the eighty-eight years of enforced tutelage which the white race imposed upon her." If that be true—this reviewer does not think it is—how reconcile it with the statement that the Japanese, when their turn came, demonstrated that they "had learned more—much more—than the modern arts of making war from their Occidental teachers"?

From the heyday of Canton the author passes to the opening of Japan and then to Shanghai, touching *en passant* upon the early hardships of American consuls, the trade in opium and coolies, and the establishment of Christian missions. The little-known enterprise of Major Perry M. Collins in Siberia is seen to be part of America's westward trek. International Shanghai, called the "Mecca for all outports," is portrayed as a bustling Sodom, unconcernedly rubbing silken elbows with the filthy rags of the Chinese sections. This chapter, and those on "Peking, City of Intrigue" and "The Superior Life" of the Westerner in Japan, devoted largely to back stairs, bars, and brothels, would lead one to infer that the benefits of foreign tutelage were contributed wholly by the missionaries, did he not know, as the author knows, that many a diplomat, merchant, and professional man led an exemplary life.

Concluding chapters trace the rise of Japanese influence and of American leadership against it down to "Pearl Harbor." Mr. Abend believes that Japan would have vassalized China before 1910 but for the treaty-port system. On the other hand he observes that the "dollar-diplomacy" of Taft and Knox "instead of helping the integrity of China, had put it in new peril." Blowing hot and cold, the United States, he holds, was committed by interest and sentiment to oppose by force Japan's egregious program of subjugation. The reviewer agrees with the author that idealism played a major role in our championship of China's cause and with his admonition that idealism is a reckless guide unless it walks with knowledge.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

## American History

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By *D. W. Brogan*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xxi, 169. \$2.50.)

THIS little book "is designed to make more intelligible to the British public certain American principles and attitudes. But it makes no pretense to profundity or elaborate learning." One must concede to an author his intention and his methods; and conceding these to Mr. Brogan, one must say that he has written a very good and useful book. He may not have elaborate learning in American history and institutions, but he has read widely in both, and is familiar, through repeated visits and much travel, with the American scene and the people who disport themselves in it. And if his interpretation is not profound, it is at least acute and illuminating in conveying the significance of certain American traits, customs, and institutions. The great object is not to make anyone love or admire Americans and their institutions, but to make "the most interesting country in the world interesting and intelligible to others." What then will these "others" learn about America?

They will learn something about a hundred and one things. They will learn about the influence of our famous "frontier" conditions in shaping American ideas and institutions and behavior patterns; something about Carrie Nation and the influence of women in public life; something about the forces that unite Americans and the conditions that tend to divide them; something about American schools and universities, political institutions, and political parties; something about "pressure blocks," and why politicians are harassed and unhappy about them; why Americans are incurably optimistic, why they are given to bragging and tall stories and overstatement, why they love words and slogans and flamboyant oratory; and (to make an end) why they regard war not as an adventure or an art but as a business. Many aspects of American life are (deliberately) ignored; and nothing is gone into at length (again deliberately); Mr. Brogan is content to convey, to those who do not know America very well, how it strikes him, and why he finds it always interesting, in the hope that others will find it, if not interesting, at all events important and well worth understanding.

There are some dubious generalizations—necessarily so, no doubt; for example, in connection with the role of women in public life, and in connection with politicians and political parties in making America what it is. Mr. Brogan thinks that "The United States was made by politicians," and that "it was not till the parties began to break down . . . that the civil war became practically certain." This is surely putting the cart before the horse. The Union was already dissolved except as an empty legal form before the parties began to break down, and it was that dissolution that broke them down; and it is the United States that makes political parties what they are, and politicians what they must be. This is not to say that the party system (together with the system of Federal and state elections

and the electoral system of choosing a president), and the politicians who run the parties, have not an immense deal to do with keeping the country politically united and politically stable. Nor do I wish to imply that Mr. Brogan does not understand the intricacies of American "politics" very well indeed. He does. As witness the following remarks:

The Representative . . . is put on a spot. If he insists on hogging the limelight and opposing at length the legislative proposals of the Administration, he may be charged, often rightly, with holding up measures necessary for the promotion of the general welfare. If he agrees to the Administration's proposals, he is accused of being a rubber stamp. If he investigates administrative mistakes or follies, he is accused of locking the stable door. If he replies to criticisms by spontaneous action, by highly publicised vigilance, announcing the speedy end of the war or producing a recipe for victory with comfort, he gets a bad press. If he goes off on a witch hunt, he may create the effect of a government in which ballet dancers are investigated by crooners.

Certainly the man who wrote this knows the intricacies of American politics more than superficially. By and large Mr. Brogan exhibits the same kind of knowledge and insight in his discussion of our schools and universities, the virtues and limitations of the "melting pot," the Catholic question, the Negro problem, and many other similar matters. And certainly the "British public" should get from his book, if they read it, a better understanding of Americans and their institutions. That Mr. Brogan has spent much time in the U.S.A. is evident, if for no other reason than because he understands American slang—a rare accomplishment for an Englishman. Maybe, for the "British public," he uses it in excess. I am not sure, for example, whether the British public will get the more subtle implications of the sentence that contains the word "crooners."

*Cornell University*

CARL BECKER

HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943. By *Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington*. With a Foreword by His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston. Three volumes. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1944. Pp. xix, 812; vi, 766; vi, 808. \$15.00 per set.)

SINCE the first World War American Catholics have become increasingly historically conscious and they have made great strides in promoting historical research and writing in American Roman Catholic history. From the American Catholic University alone, under the direction and inspiration of Monsignor Peter Guilday of the theological faculty and Professor Richard J. Purcell of the history department more than fifty doctoral dissertations in American Catholic history have appeared in the last twenty years. American Catholic history has also profited from the conversion to Roman Catholicism of several distinguished historians who had received their training in non-Catholic universities. I refer particularly to

Carlton J. H. Hayes, for many years a professor of history at Columbia, and Dr. Robert H. Lord, formerly a member of the history faculty at Harvard but now professor of church history at the Catholic Seminary at Brighton and one of the authors of the *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* now under review. As was to be expected, with the principal author trained at Harvard, these three handsome volumes take high rank among Catholic histories. They, however, must be classed as patriotic history, since their purpose was undoubtedly to make Catholics think well of themselves and because they are almost completely devoid of any expression of critical judgment. According to these volumes the Catholic population which has flooded New England in the past one hundred years had few, if any, faults, and Catholics have always been wise and their policies free of mistakes. Official histories of any religious body are likely to be far from objective treatments, and Roman Catholic history has the least chance of any of achieving that end because of the rigid censorship.

The first volume covers the period from the beginning of colonization to 1825 and is divided into two parts. The first is called "Catholic People and Catholic Priests in Colonial New England"; the second part carries the story of New England Catholicism from 1788, the date of the establishment of the first Catholic congregation in Boston, to the end of the reign of Bishop Cheverus, the first bishop of the diocese of Boston. These were the years of small things and as a whole the New Englanders, in spite of their long background of anti-Catholic bias, were generous in their treatment of the early Catholics. At the beginning, a majority of the first Catholic congregation in Boston were French, but by the turn of the century the Irish had come to be in a great majority, with a sprinkling of converts from among the old New England stock. Volume II, covering the years from 1825 to 1866, is the most important of the three, at least from the standpoint of the general history of New England, since the period covered deals with the great flood of Irish immigration which swept into New England from the middle of the century onward.

No immigration ever aroused more resentment and fear on the part of the older American stock than this transplanting of half the population of Ireland to America. It was the most poverty-stricken, illiterate, and improvident immigration that had ever set foot on American soil, and the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic opposition it aroused is a familiar story. The assumption on the part of the authors, which the non-Catholic reader is sure to detect, that this vast horde of ignorant and poverty-stricken Irish was simply entering into its rightful heritage in coming to America and that Roman Catholicism was conferring a great boon upon Puritan New England, recalls James Russell Lowell's essay, "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners." "Every foreigner," he states, "is persuaded that by doing this country the favor of coming to it, he has laid every native thereof under an obligation" to him. Too often the more recent immigrant stock has been oblivious of what "has been going on here from sturdy father to sturdy son" in making this continent habitable for the "weaker Old World breed that has swarmed to it."

Nowhere in these three volumes, as far as this reviewer remembers, is there the slightest expression of appreciation of what the Catholic immigrant found in New England. The frequent use of the term "bigot" or "bigotry," always applied to non-Catholics and never to Catholics, is, as all the world knows, just another instance of "the pot calling the kettle black." Of course there was resentment on the part of the older Protestant population at the swarming of Irish Catholics on their shores, just as there would have been on the part of Catholics had the situation been reversed. Of course the burning of the Charlestown Convent was a shameful happening, but the Boston firemen were no more reluctant to extinguish the convent fire than they were in saving Lyman Beecher's church, which burned two years before.

The last volume brings the story of the "Roman conquest of New England" down to date. In more recent years have come the Canadian French, another immigrant group devoted to Catholicism, besides Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, all of whom helped to raise the Catholic population of New England. The Boston archdiocese is now the third largest in the United States in membership: 1,092,078. There are more than 1,500 priests, 158 parishes maintaining parochial schools, 24 academies, 2 universities, and 41 charitable institutions. According to the last Federal census (1936) about two fifths of the total population of New England is Catholic; two fifths have no church membership, while all other religious bodies constitute only slightly more than one fifth of the total. It is indeed an impressive accomplishment, but it will be a long time before there is another flowering of New England.

*University of Chicago*

WILLIAM W. SWEET

PIONEER JESUITS IN NORTHERN MEXICO. By *Peter Masten Dunne*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. x, 227. \$3.00.)

It has been pointed out many times that although we in the United States are acquainted with the work of the Jesuits in New France, we know very little about the equally significant achievements of other members of this order in New Spain. Happily this ignorance is being dispelled; and for this change part of the credit should go to the series of volumes on the history of the Jesuits in Spanish North America, now being issued under the editorship of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.

Father Dunne's book, the third in this series, is a continuation of his earlier volume on *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*. In that book he was concerned with the Jesuit advance up the Pacific Coast; in this one he tells the story of their activities a little farther east, in the mountains and on plateaus of the present Mexican states of Durango and Coahuila. The period covered is roughly the half century between 1590 and 1640. It was a wild and rugged frontier. Many of the Indians were hostile to the whites; some of them were cannibals. It was necessary that they be pacified or "reduced" before the northward-moving Spanish pioneers could safely open mines and establish ranches. Here was a task

for brave and zealous missionaries—and such the Jesuits were. The story of their successes and failures is told sympathetically and appreciatively: on the one hand, baptisms by the thousands, Christian marriages by the hundreds, pueblos and churches by the scores; on the other, heartbreaking relapses into heathenism by some of the new converts, struggles with native medicine men, rebellions, and martyrdom for many of the fathers. Nearly half of the space in the book is devoted to the great uprising of 1616 among the Tepehuanes, its suppression, and the subsequent reconciliation and reconstruction.

Father Dunne writes as one having authority in his field: he knows the country about which he writes; he knows his sources. The book is based largely on contemporary records, particularly the *anuas* or annual reports of the missionaries. The narrative is factual but not overburdened with details. The style is clear, and the format of the book attractive. There is a useful map on which are shown many, but not all, of the places mentioned in the text.

Interesting in its own right, this volume, which presents to English readers the first detailed account of one phase of the advancing frontier in Mexico, suggests comparisons with the westward movement which was getting under way in the English North American colonies about the same time. On both frontiers religion was an agency of control, but there was little in English North America to match the co-ordinated advance of Spanish political authority and the Catholic faith into northern New Spain.

*University of Colorado*

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

JOHN STUART AND THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER: A STUDY OF INDIAN RELATIONS, WAR, TRADE, AND LAND PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTHERN WILDERNESS, 1754-1775. By *John Richard Alden*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XV.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 384.)

THIS book must be highly commended. It is the first factual and comprehensive treatment of the southern frontier during the three decades preceding the American Revolution that has appeared, and on the whole it is well done. It is not the first invasion of the field in question, to be sure, other scholars having previously explored special aspects of the general subject. The work is based on an examination of a wide diversity of sources. This reviewer is aware of no relevant primary source, printed or manuscript, now known which Professor Alden has not thoroughly explored and utilized to advantage. Among the more basic manuscript collections requisitioned for the study were the papers of General Thomas Gage, in the William L. Clements Library, the Indian Books of South Carolina, and photostats and transcripts from the London and Paris archives as found in the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and the Historical Commission of South Carolina. Footnotes and bibliography disclose the use of a wide variety of other original sources, as well as numerous monographic studies.

The principal object of imperial and colonial authorities throughout the period traversed by the author was the maintenance of peaceful relations between Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and the Southern Indians. Inevitably involved in this problem, therefore, were such objectives as the control of the Indian trade, which was never adequate, negotiations with the Indians for more lands for white settlers and the establishment of Indian boundary lines, and the creation of interior posts and forts. That the peace was maintained, the bloody Cherokee War being the exception, in the face of the avarice and incorrigibility of English traders, the bickerings and jealousies of colonial governors, and the machinations of French and Spanish agents in the Indian country was due in part to fortuitous events and in part to the policies and indefatigable efforts of such men as Governor Glenn of South Carolina, a key figure in the early period, and John Stuart, superintendent of the Southern Indians from 1762.

In this section Professor Alden has thrown much new light on both Glenn and Stuart. Although the former's grandiose schemes for the expansion of British power into the Southwest and Northwest during King George's War were fruitless, his establishment of Fort Prince George was a substantial achievement. And his willingness to co-operate with other colonial governors was exceptional. Stuart receives the most adequate treatment that the reviewer has seen, and it is to be hoped that the author may see his way clear to prepare an extensive biography of that worthy. As presented by Professor Alden, Stuart appears as the equal if not the superior in ability and character of his more celebrated colleague in the North, Sir William Johnson.

The shortcomings of the book are few and unimportant in contrast with its substantial contributions. The relations of the Southern and Northern Indians might well have received fuller treatment. The East Florida situation receives less attention, relatively, than the sources would indicate it deserves. Professor C. L. Mowat's *East Florida as a British Province* and Professor Cecil Johnson's *British West Florida*, both of which were published almost simultaneously with Alden's work, may be profitably compared with the latter.

Alden's critical appraisals of the pioneer excursions of certain of his more elderly contemporaries (including the reviewer's) make interesting reading and should add to the gaiety as well as the headaches of members of graduate seminars. Possibly, a generation hence, further discoveries may be made which will modify some of the conclusions set down in this book.

*Washington, D. C.*

CLARENCE E. CARTER

THOMAS CRESAP, MARYLAND FRONTIERSMAN. By *Kenneth P. Bailey*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1944. Pp. 322. \$4.00.)

THOMAS Cresap, Yorkshire-born American frontiersman, stamped with the color of his vigorous personality several decades of the history of that debatable



region in which Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia sought to substantiate mutually irreconcilable claims. He combined physical prowess and apparently superb health with a truculent self-assertiveness and a hot temper, which at times got the better of a very real measure of shrewd common sense. Ambitious, energetic, and courageous, and not overhampered by the niceties of ethics, he personifies not a few of the human qualities which were subduing the wilderness and winning a continent from the French. Establishing his home in Maryland, or in places which he insisted were a part of Maryland, he became a more zealous vindicator of the Baltimore heritage than the Calverts themselves. Later, though remaining a Marylander, he became a member of the Ohio Company and thus a champion of Virginia's pretensions in the Ohio Valley. In each of these capacities he came into conflict with the Pennsylvanians and proved a redoubtable antagonist both in word and in deed. This, more than his undoubted defects of character, serves to explain why contemporary Pennsylvania accounts have little good to say of him.

Indeed, as the author of the present study fully recognizes, much of the material from which Cresap's career had to be constructed is partisan in character. It thus stood in need of critical treatment, and this Professor Bailey has accorded it in fair measure. Yet his handling of evidence is not entirely above reproach. After virtually proving that Cresap was born in the early years of the eighteenth century, he accepts as satisfactory the date 1694, apparently for the reason that it is the one adopted by the Cresap Society. This date he follows throughout the book except where he lapses into what seems to be the more probable view when he says that Cresap arrived in America as a boy in 1715. He states, on somewhat dubious grounds, that it seems highly probable that it was Cresap who recommended Gist to the Ohio Company as a surveyor, and later asserts without qualification that he had done so. He accepts as independent accounts of Cresap two passages (pp. 99, 100) so similar that their common origin cannot be doubted. Although he considers Cresap the central figure in the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, he so simplifies the issues at stake as to be quite misleading.

The preface has Charles Kingsley characterizing John Smith in words not so employed by him. In places one misses information which seems to be necessary to complete the story. Words are at times used inappropriately, and sentences are not always grammatical. Yet the exposition is such as to give a readable account of a significant and colorful figure. The appendixes present a number of useful documents touching Cresap's career, some already available in print, others reproduced from manuscripts.

*University of Pennsylvania*

LEONIDAS DODSON

TENNESSEE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By *Samuel Cole Williams*, Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission and formerly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. A Contribution to the

Sesquicentennial Celebration of Tennessee Statehood in 1946. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1944. Pp. xi, 294.)

THIS volume, the latest of the many contributed by Judge Williams to the history of his native state, is designed to fill the gap between his *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (1937) and his *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (1924). In view of this order of publication of the three volumes, quite different from the sequence of the periods which each respectively covers, anyone approaching the present work will do well to read first the *Dawn*, or at least the preface and introduction thereto, whereby a better understanding will be obtained of Judge Williams' larger plan. Still to be completed, Judge Williams tells us, is another volume, which will cover the history of Tennessee from the establishment of the territory south of the river Ohio to the admission of Tennessee as a state. It is indeed to be hoped that Judge Williams will carry this purpose to fulfillment.

The time of the settlement, by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, of the country watered by the confluents which make the Tennessee River was one in which, as to the older seaboard communities, there was disintegration of authority not only in such outmoded proprietorships as that of the Granvilles but also in the royal governments. This was the case particularly with regard to the regulation of the trade of the whites with the Indians and the control of white settlement on Indian lands. Not only the transitional Revolutionary governments but also the state governments which succeeded them were weak both from the military and the financial standpoint.

Traders, land speculators, and settlers alike could proceed with little hindrance from the east, and on the other hand could expect little in the way of assistance or protection. Besides the difficulties presented by the mountains, the rivers, and the forests, those who ventured west risked not only the dangers of the Indian attacks for which officials of the crown and their Tory supporters might be held responsible but also the hostility which they themselves engendered when they convinced the Indians that they came not to trade but to settle on the Indian lands.

This is the background of *Tennessee during the Revolutionary War*. The story of the events was gathered by the first historian of Tennessee, Haywood, from the lips of the pioneers and passed on to Ramsey and the later writers. Theodore Roosevelt, fascinated by the epic quality of the period, revised and knit together the local accounts into his *Winning of the West*. Judge Williams has returned to the standpoint of the individual state, but with full appreciation of the larger stage of which Tennessee was only a part. It has been his task to test every detail of the story in the light of his own wide research and to revise the older accounts.

It was during this period that settlement in central Tennessee developed at what was later Nashville. Here were united the bold land speculation of Richard Henderson and the body of settlers struggling for survival in the midst of Indian

attacks. After the war came to an end, the rush for lands was further promoted when the soldiers of the Revolution sought to realize upon the lands promised to them by North Carolina.

Judge Williams makes it clear that if the mother states could not do much for the Westerners, the latter came to the aid of the mother states. Volunteers from the transmontane valleys gave aid to South Carolina in 1776, helped to defeat Ferguson at King's Mountain and supported Greene in the final push against Cornwallis.

When one finishes this volume he will hardly fail to take up again Judge Williams' narrative of *The Lost State of Franklin*, though he may have read it twenty years ago.

*Library of Congress*

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

THE CHURCH COLLEGE OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Albea Godbold*.  
[Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp.  
xi, 221. \$3.00.)

IN view of the present active consideration of the place and the prospects of the small liberal arts college in the future scheme of higher education in our country, this historical account of the beginning and development of the church-related college in the Old South was well worth doing.

Higher education in America had its beginnings and its first flowering in institutions founded by religious bodies primarily concerned in the development of religious leadership, and this form of educational activity continues to exert a powerful influence in our educational life.

Lack of appreciation, to put it mildly, of higher education on the part of the Indians deprived the South of the honor of the establishment of the first college in colonial America. But the second college established in the present limits of the United States, the College of William and Mary in Virginia, was founded by the Episcopalians under a royal grant. The Presbyterians, from the first most deeply interested in education, created an academy in 1775 which was chartered in 1783 as Hampden-Sydney, and about the same time, this communion established Washington College, the forerunner of Washington and Lee University, now not church controlled. Soon thereafter, and especially during the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterians and the Methodists founded colleges for their particular purposes in nearly all of the Southern states. The Baptists, at first quite distrustful of higher education, soon fell into line. The first college in the United States specifically chartered by a state legislature for the higher education of women, the present Wesleyan College in Georgia, was established by Methodists in 1836 and conferred its first baccalaureate degrees in 1840. From this period come such existing colleges as Davidson and Erskine from the Presbyterians, Randolph-Macon, Emory, and Trinity (now Duke University) from the Methodists, Mercer, Richmond, Wake Forest, and Furman from the Baptists. The

Episcopalians, curiously enough, were unsuccessful in the establishment of colleges prior to 1860 except for William and Mary.

The author analyzes the motives and ideals which impelled the churches to establish colleges, the most important being the need for a better-trained ministry, the desire to establish a more democratic opportunity in higher education and to lower its cost, the urge to strengthen denominational loyalty and to propagate the Christian doctrines, and the fear of state-controlled education. Despite many early clashes between the state colleges and the denominational institutions, a *modus vivendi* was soon established and the co-operative character of the adventure in higher education was realized, the forerunner of present understanding and co-operation.

Though the book sometimes presents a confused picture because of the mass of details included, it was well worth doing and constitutes a real contribution to the history of higher education in the South.

*Randolph-Macon Woman's College*

THEODORE H. JACK

JOHN C. CALHOUN, NATIONALIST, 1782-1828. By *Charles M. Wiltse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 477. \$3.75.)

This study of Calhoun's earlier career, much the ablest and most thorough yet published, must take its place at once as the standard account. The author has not only reworked to good advantage the materials which previous biographers used, but he has also exploited other sources, both in print and in manuscript, to which his predecessors did not have access or the value of which they did not appreciate. He presents his findings with a fine sense of proportion and an admirable talent for organization. He has done an especially good job in untangling the snarled threads of War Department problems and presidential politics between 1817 and 1825 and then reweaving the strands in a clear and understandable pattern. Only when he comes to explaining the idea of nullification does his sure expository pen falter a bit.

Mr. Wiltse's approach to his subject is highly sympathetic throughout. Like previous biographers, except the notoriously prejudiced Von Holst, he has tried to offset the testimony of such of Calhoun's contemporaries as J. Q. Adams, who despite their bias have received a ready and repeated hearing at the bar of history. No biographer has succeeded nearly so well as Mr. Wiltse in redressing the balance, and he has succeeded perhaps too well. He throws a light of realism upon Calhoun's critics and rivals, among them Benton, Webster, Jackson, and especially Adams, whom he cogently debunks as a precisian too fastidious to touch the spoils of office. Less critical in dealing with his hero, he pictures the Carolinian as something of a political Galahad, pure in heart and almost alone in his purity. Rather contemptuous of politicians who like Van Buren rose to power in states where the "common man" counted, Mr. Wiltse believes (pp. 163, 266) that Calhoun, far above his contemporaries "in the brilliance of his intellect,"

assumed the common man to be likewise "intelligent" and so misunderstood him—"because in the South there were no common men." This last, by the way, is not the only tenet of the proslavery argument which the author accepts as a proved fact.

Mr. Wiltse's thesis may be stated thus: Calhoun, the one true "nationalist" of his time, originally favored a broad use of Federal powers in the interest of the whole country and became an adherent of the state rights view only after Northern protectionists had perverted the nationalist doctrine to their own sectional ends. So, for instance, Calhoun and the other War Hawks were men of "glowing nationalism." Calhoun's improvements program of 1816 was a piece of disinterested statesmanship; Adams' comparable program of 1825, an instrument of selfish politics. All this will scarcely convince the reader who has reason to believe that the proponents of the War of 1812 were motivated by narrowly sectional considerations just as truly as were the opponents of the war; or who recalls that in 1816 there were Southerners, including South Carolinians, just as in 1825 there were New Englanders, who thought they saw an industrial future for their section and hoped therefore to benefit from Federal aid to industrial enterprise.

In championing the planters' cause after 1828, writes Mr. Wiltse, Calhoun "spoke for all minorities in all democratic states" (p. 11); he "made himself the supreme champion of minority rights and interests everywhere" (p. 398). It would be interesting to see how the author would document those statements. No real defender of "minorities" as such, Calhoun was nevertheless to concern himself with the fate of one other "minority" besides the Southern planter class; and that was to be, curiously enough, the Northern capitalist class.

*Northern Michigan College*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE UNFORTIFIED BOUNDARY: A DIARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY OF THE CANADIAN BOUNDARY LINE FROM ST. REGIS TO THE LAKE OF THE WOODS BY MAJOR JOSEPH DELAFIELD, AMERICAN AGENT UNDER ARTICLES VI AND VII OF THE TREATY OF GHENT: FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT RECENTLY DISCOVERED. Edited by *Robert McElroy*, Professor Emeritus of Oxford University and former Professor at Princeton University, and *Thomas Riggs*, United States Commissioner, International Boundary Commission, United States, Alaska, and Canada, and former Governor of Alaska. (New York: Privately printed. 1943. Pp. 490.)

It has been known for many years that there were important unpublished papers affording data on the joint commissions that endeavored to settle the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States in the years following the Treaty of Ghent. To most casual students of American history that dispute concerned itself with the boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick and came to a spectacular crisis in the so-called Restook, or Aroostook War

in the late thirties of the last century. Yet there were equally difficult problems far to the west, namely the ownership of St. George's, now Sugar Island, near Sault Ste. Marie, and the location of the boundary line between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. By the end of 1827 all major problems had been resolved except the ownership of the island and the line between Lake Superior and the outlet of Rainy Lake. Because of these two difficulties, the commission charged with attempting to settle them went out of existence in 1827. It is true that the northeast boundary question was not finally settled at that time, but the two governments had come to an agreement about the method of settlement and all seemed propitious for the moment.

So the western part of the problem was the main one for some time after 1827. It is to this part of the story that this book contributes most new material, though touching on all the major issues. The reason is not far to seek. Major John Ross Delafield has produced the personal and unofficial diary of his ancestor, the agent of one of the commissions, under whose personal direction most of the boundary survey from St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods was made in the years from 1817 to 1823. Thus what we have here is a very long introduction of 131 pages by the editors, giving the background for the diary, and the diary divided into twelve books.

For the region east of Detroit the diary is not so important as a new source of information as for the district west of that point. Beyond it and especially beyond Sault Ste. Marie the entries become of great significance for local history. For Delafield's party, steam and sails gave way to voyageurs and birchbark canoes at the Sault, and thus a very intimate knowledge of every part of the subsequent route was made necessary by force of circumstance. Books 10 to 12 carry the story of this portion of Delafield's experiences, the years being those of 1822 and 1823.

It should not be understood from these remarks that the first nine diaries are of little consequence. They will be read with interest and profit by all whose field is the Great Lakes region. They are the travel jottings of an observant, educated, and experienced man. Students of geology, mineralogy, ichthyology, ornithology, and botany will be especially grateful for the new information carried by somewhat casual entries, for Delafield's hobbies were geology and natural history. Unfortunately the editors have deleted some of the scientific data.

"The special duty of the Agent," writes Delafield in his unpublished autobiography, "was to protect the interests of the United States, by making claims to doubtful islands, routes, etc., when they could be substantiated by evidence." The two commissioners received the claims of the agents and tried to make a decision between them. The main reason for the impasse of 1827 was Delafield's advancing an American claim to the territory between the Pigeon River (now the boundary line between northeastern Minnesota and Canada) and the Kaministiquia River (on which the city of Fort William rises) to counterbalance a new claim put forth by the British agent to the area southwest of Grand Portage from the Pigeon River on the north shore of Lake Superior as far as the mouth of the St.

Louis River, where Duluth is now located. The original delineation of the boundary line in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 referred to "Long Lake" and the "water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods." There was no Long Lake of local knowledge on the north shore of Lake Superior, but Mitchell's map of 1755, used by the treaty commissioners, showed the mouth of Pigeon River by that name. British traders, needing the Grand Portage for their canoe traffic to the West, advanced the theory that the "water communication" to Lake of the Woods at the time of the treaty passed up the St. Louis River and by north-flowing lakes and rivers to a point just east of Rainy Lake. The British agent in 1822 and 1823 took up this absurd claim. Delafield countered by saying that the "water communication" contemplated by the treaty was the Kaministiquia River route, at the end of which Fort William stood in 1822-23 and which had been the old French route to the interior. Delafield at least had some plausibility on his side; the British claim had no historic evidence of any merit to back it, and the weight of geography and topography against it.

Had Delafield not made his claim, or had the British claim been accepted, all the United States' supply of iron ore would have become Canadian, for the St. Louis River rises on the watershed holding the great Mesabi and Vermilion iron ore bodies, from which today at least two thirds of America's steel is made. Fortunately for the United States, Webster and Ashburton returned to the Pigeon River route as the "water communication" in their treaty of 1842, which settled the long-standing boundary dispute.

The last two books are rich in information on a region for which there is not much in print. The detail for the geology of Lake Superior is most unusual; and students of the fur trade, of the voyageurs, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the natural history of the region west of the Sault will find much of value. The editors have consistently misread "pose" as "post" in passages describing portage activities, as well as some other colloquialisms of the fur trade. The thick, handsome volume is well printed on unusually fine paper, with many valuable maps and illustrations, copious footnotes, and a good index.

*Hamline University*

GRACE LEE NUTE

LAKE SUPERIOR. By *Grace Lee Nute*. [The American Lakes Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 376. \$3.50.)

THIS second volume in the "American Lakes Series," edited by Milo M. Quaife, fully maintains the high standard set by Fred Landon in his *Lake Huron*. Dr. Quaife, in his short and pithy introduction, reminds us that but little has been known, at any rate to most of us, of the greatest of all existing freshwater seas, and that if this remains true in the future it will not be the fault of Dr. Nute, who in this study "provides almost everything one could wish to know about Lake Superior." Even to one who happens to have a fairly broad knowledge of the lake in its many moods, and who knows something of its past, this book is a revelation.



It is a word picture of a magnificent subject, as impressive in its broad treatment of certain aspects as it is satisfying in its minute attention to important details. There is here not only scholarship and imagination and the ability to put the right word where it belongs, but also the enthusiasm of one whose pleasure it is to do justice at last to a great but little-known theme.

The quality of a writer often is revealed in the table of contents. In this table of contents one finds both the methodical treatment of the historian and the imagination and charm of the poet; fauna and flora, geology and economics, fur traders and fishermen, inland ports and iron mines, woven into an authentic fabric under such headings as "Footprints on the Sands of Time," "Vulcan's Shop and Neptune's Dream," "The Cord of the Bow," "An Arc of Rocks," and "Red and White Art."

In the body of the book the reader is taken back to the earliest beginnings of Lake Superior, long before either white man or red had appeared on the scene. Of human associations with the lake, Miss Nute makes effective use of what little is known of the Indian until comparatively recent times, and tells very completely the story of the white man on and about Superior, from the days of Etienne Brûlé and the first Jesuit missionaries to the present day. Occasionally she perhaps assumes more knowledge than is possessed by the average reader. Brûlé, for instance, left no narrative, and it might be interesting to know on what evidence Miss Nute bases her belief that he got as far west as Brule River in Wisconsin. Elaborations of this kind, of course, belong to a somewhat different class of book, and the cluttering up of pages with footnotes is not always an unmixed blessing.

A reference on page 45 to the arrival of a party of fur traders at Grand Portage, "with flag flying proudly from the stern of the canoe," raises a point of some slight historical interest. The Hudson's Bay Company had a flag of its own, and one with a long and proud tradition, but these were not H.B.C. men. Their rivals of the North West Company probably had a flag other than the British ensign, but no one seems to have taken the trouble to describe it.

It is difficult in a brief review to give any just idea of the almost innumerable topics dealt with effectively and entertainingly by Dr. Nute. She tells the story of the various canals at the Sault, the activities of fur traders and missionaries, the long negotiations over the international boundary, the discovery of copper and iron, lumbering operations and the fisheries, the evolution of shipping from the birchbark canoe and the Mackinac boat to the great whaleback and modern bulk carrier, with their efficient apparatus for handling grain, iron ore, coal, and so forth.

Altogether a book to be highly recommended, to the serious student as well as to the general reader. Also a notably attractive piece of bookmaking, at a time when bookmaking is no simple task, with many excellent illustrations and an adequate index.

*Ottawa, Canada*

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

LAKE MICHIGAN. By *Milo M. Quaife*. [The American Lakes Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 384. \$3.50.)

THIRD to appear in the "American Lakes Series," this is the very readable work of the editor and may be viewed as the pattern for the group. Neither geography nor travel guide, the book is rather a regional history designed apparently for popular consumption but not without a substantial foundation of research.

Like its river counterparts, it is not so much the history of a lake as of a locality, for primarily it relates the careers of those who lived along Lake Michigan's shores and, on occasion, crossed its waters. Thus the chapters on the development of lake transportation are brief though effective. Tracing the advance from canoe and sailing vessel to paddle steamer and screw-propelled bulk freighters, it emphasizes an adaptation to the changing cargoes of furs, immigrants, grain, and metal. The account largely avoids the common pitfall of permitting the names of captains, owners, and ships to hide the significant trends. Water travel is amply treated but one may question the author's decision almost to ignore the lake's commercial fisheries. Even the "pigeoners" eclipse the fishermen.

The record of the growth of civilization on and around the lake opens with the disillusionment of China-bound Nicolet and closes with Chicago—the "Eighth Wonder of the World"—and such of its citizens as Al Capone. From bark canoe to armored car. Within these limits it sketches the pertinent experiences of Father Marquette, of traders La Salle, Tonty, and Hubbard, of warriors Pontiac and Robert Rogers, of "Admiral" Newberry, and of prophets Strang and Purnell. In that list there is reflected an emphasis on the era when the lake constituted the major means of transportation. The book further contains what is perhaps the most useful account of the boundary adjustments within the Northwest Territory whereby Michigan surrendered Toledo, and Wisconsin lost the iron and copper country, Duluth, St. Paul, and Chicago. The descriptions of utopian communities—the prosperous Wisconsin Phalanx, the polygamous Kingdom of St. James, and the rather celibate House of David—are never tedious yet constantly reveal the painstaking hand of the scholar.

The final portion, entitled "All around the Coast," is marred by a characteristic common to many recent local studies. In it are deposited those interesting and often significant events which unfortunately possess little in common save geographical contiguity. A chapter labeled "From Waugoshance to Sleeping Bear," for instance, deals hurriedly with Indian villages and legends, fruit raising, islands and sand dunes, the Bay View chautauqua, and the Smelt Festival. The book might have been strengthened by the omission of some items from this latter section and the incorporation of others in the body of the discourse.

From such a book one anticipates little that is essentially new, but it must be conceded in this instance that much is familiar only because the author has been for a third of a century a prolific and scholarly writer and editor whose primary

interest has been the Great Lakes region. Reflected here in miniature are many of his studies including those of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Michigan, as well as innumerable articles written while he was with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and, during the past twenty years, with the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. For some of the chapters the best secondary reference is of his composition, and often the best primary source is from his editing, particularly of the "Lakeside Classics." Through the medium of this book there is brought together for the general reader the product of a lifetime of research, writing, and editing.

*Michigan State College*

MADISON KUHN

THE LETTERS OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN FROM FORT VANCOUVER  
TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE: SECOND SERIES, 1839-44.

Edited by E. E. Rich, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian of the University of British Columbia. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Series, VI.] (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1943. Pp. xlix, 427, xiii.)

THE second volume of the McLoughlin *Letters* has a dramatic quality which one rarely finds in a collection of business correspondence. In the first volume McLoughlin was revealed as the administrator of a great region, working in apparent harmony with his superiors. Although one might suspect the depth of his loyalty, there was no evidence that he did not fulfill the letter of his instructions. This new volume brings out McLoughlin, the man, and the circumstances in which he emerges are not happy.

Two main themes run through the McLoughlin *Letters* of 1839-44: his disagreement with George Simpson over company policy, and his plea to bring to justice the murderers of his son. After an almost senile reiteration of complaints, the two themes are resolved into a single bitter hatred for Simpson. It is no wonder the governor and committee in 1840 felt McLoughlin's retirement was necessary.

The publication of these *Letters* has been of great significance to the student of the Far Northwest. The relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the settlers, religious and secular, has long been a matter of dispute. Locally, the issue has been considered in terms of the character of John McLoughlin. But to those interested in economic institutions, the problem has been posed in the question, "How far did the Hudson's Bay Company actually interfere with the entrepreneurial ambitions of the Americans?" The answer can be found in the instructions of the governor and committee and in McLoughlin's reports to them. Although the company scrupulously avoided situations which might arouse the American national government, it nevertheless betrayed its determined policy to keep the immigrants in economic dependence. Its method was the old one so successfully used in meeting the competition of the maritime traders, underselling while competition was present and then restoring prices to a profitable level as quickly as

possible. The missionary settlements provided the first direct challenge to company supremacy. "These people ought, I think, to be energetically opposed," Simpson wrote to McLoughlin in March, 1842, "both at the falls and wherever else they may enter into competition with us . . . and as the water privileges of the Willamette Falls and building sites in that quarter must very soon become valuable, I have to beg that you will take possession of and occupy on behalf of the Company, such portion of the water privileges as you conceive the Company have a claim to by prior occupation" (pp. 265-66). Simpson's directive also covered the retention of an extensive piece of land "to be occupied as a farm or other purpose, as may hereafter be considered advisable."

The location thus to be claimed by the company was that strategic area about the Willamette Falls where Oregon City was already in the process of development. It was here that the immigrants of 1843 located in considerable number and energetically engaged in typically American enterprises such as "taking up" sites with an eye to future speculation. McLoughlin's attempt to carry out his instructions to hold this area resulted in the transfer of American antipathies from the company to him, personally. In December, 1843, he wrote to Simpson, "When I mention my claim, you will please recollect I allude to the site at the Falls . . . which there was no other means of protecting for the Company, but by claiming in my own name" (p. 183). One may very well suspect shrewd foresightedness on the part of Dr. McLoughlin that the company's control of the region was a thing of the past and that he would not be the loser by having the claims in his own name. The sequel to this incident, and the manner in which McLoughlin, as a private individual, succeeded to the company's pretensions, will be revealed, we are told, in the letters to follow. It must be borne in mind, however, that the very first immigrants were those who experienced the fullest effect of the company's monopolistic practices, and it was not difficult to transfer the resulting antagonisms to newcomers. McLoughlin remained in the eyes of the community a symbol of foreign dominance. The bitter experiences of his last years are foreshadowed in the unhappy years of 1839-44.

In the introduction to this volume, Mr. Lamb presents, with his customary skill, a scholarly, impersonal account of McLoughlin's relations to his superiors and to the changing character of company policy.

Reed College

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN

THE WORLD OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By *Van Wyck Brooks*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1944. Pp. 495. \$3.75.)

WHEN reviewers complain that it is difficult to classify *The Flowering of New England*, *New England: Indian Summer*, and *The World of Washington Irving*, they are saying that Mr. Brooks writes his own variety of social and literary history.

The freshness and the novelty of these books are to be attributed chiefly to the audacity with which Mr. Brooks cuts across academic departmentalization

and brings into juxtaposition all kinds of picturesque people: foreign travelers and native politicians, farmers and frontiersmen, botanists and taxidermists, portrait painters and cabinetmakers, publishers, booksellers, and authors.

The range, the method, and the emphasis of Mr. Brooks in *The World of Washington Irving* are suggested by the names which appear in his index under the letter *A* and by the number of times each appears: Abbey, Edwin (1); Adams, Abigail (5), Charles Francis (1), Henry (2), John (15), John Quincy (4), Samuel (4); Addison (8); Aeschylus (3); Aesop (3); Allen, Ethan (1), Zachariah (1); Allston, Washington (7); Alsop, Richard (1); Ames, Fisher (3); Anacreon (1); Anderson, Alexander (5); André (3); Antoine, Père (1); Apelles (1); Arndt, Ernst (1); Asbury, Francis (4); Astor, John Jacob (11); Athanasius (1); Audubon, John James (24); Austen, Jane (2).

Mr. Brooks further adorns his pages with pleasant odds and ends of information, not always accurate, but usually entertaining: Leigh Hunt's father was mobbed in America, Shelley's grandfather was born in New Jersey, and "Ossian" Macpherson spent two years in Pensacola; Princeton College is said to stand where once stood the wigwam of Chief Tammany of the Delawares; Cooper inherited twenty-three farms from his father, and one of his novels was published simultaneously in thirty-four cities in Europe.

The total result is a panorama of American arts, letters, and life from 1800 to 1840, richly detailed and sufficiently authentic to satisfy the general reader. But special students, when they examine Mr. Brooks's treatment of their particular fields, will find his transcript distinctly more colorful than were the men and the events of those decades. From his Philadelphia and New York of 1800 to his frontier of 1830-1840, Mr. Brooks so orders his materials that a romantic aura is evoked on almost every page.

Not only is the total picture too highly colored but various minor details are inaccurately recorded. Susanna Rowson wrote *Charlotte Temple* in England, not in Boston; Irving was provoked to write his *Knickerbocker* by a guide to New York, not a history; Cooperstown is in central, not western, New York; Ohio was admitted to the union in 1803, not in 1802; Dennie edited *The Port Folio*, not the *Portfolio*, and Irving wrote *A Tour on the Prairies*, not *A Tour of the Prairies* (note how Mr. Brooks, by changing one letter, makes Irving's title much more pretentious), and the like. These slips are probably of little moment to the general reader. But to the historian they reveal that Mr. Brooks, in attempting to master within a few years not only the entire range of American letters but also a great part of American social history, has frequently relied on a hasty examination of secondary sources—and of antiquated sources at that.

As a historian of American literature, then, Mr. Brooks offers little that is new, for he commonly ignores the findings of recent scholarship, buried as they are in monographs and scholarly editions and learned journals, and accepts the best wisdom of the older schools of literary history. In short, *The World of Washington Irving* is a volume into which readers of the *American Historical Review* will dip,

from time to time, both for stimulus and for entertainment, but not for source materials.

University of Minnesota

TREMAINE McDOWELL

GEORGE BANCROFT, BRAHMIN REBEL. By *Russel B. Nye*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Pp. x, 340, xii. \$3.50.)

If, as this author says, history is destined frequently to be rewritten, the same must be true of biography, and it is inevitable that Mark Howe's *Life and Letters of George Bancroft* of 1908 should be followed by the present book. Certainly there is a difference between them: the earlier is deliberate and urbane, with its subject always in evidence and speaking for himself, while the present book is brisk and analytic, and much more occupied with Bancroft the politician than with Bancroft the historian. We probably needed to be reminded that in his day Bancroft was constantly occupied with politics, held Federal office, was Secretary of the Navy, and minister to London and Berlin. Only his long life of ninety years, with his habit of industry, allowed him to combine his two pursuits. Few have more nearly approached George William Curtis' ideal of a scholar in a republic.

We have lately heard much criticism of the futility of many of our doctoral theses; but Mr. Nye's book, arising out of his own thesis, is a proof that they can be worth while. The author's remarkable familiarity with the Massachusetts politics of Bancroft's day, of the Federal affairs of his later years, and of Europe during Bancroft's student years and those of his two ministries, are completely adequate. If in Mr. Howe's book Bancroft appears more genial, human, and personal, in Mr. Nye's he is measured against the background of his time, in which tapestry he does not lose stature. Bancroft was in many ways in advance of his period: he was a transcendentalist before Emerson, a strong believer in the people, an abolitionist though not belonging to that group.

In that sense, as not waiting to go with the crowd, he was what Mr. Nye calls a rebel. Not, however, as one who openly revolts. Bancroft simply thought for himself, left the fold, and went his own way, wisely anticipating the trend of events. The Boston Whigs took his defection unkindly. "I did not find you at home when I called," he said to one Boston lady. "No," she replied, "and you never will." But the best of his old friends came back to him.

Bancroft believed in a philosophy of history, the working of which in our American development he interpreted to the world. It was consistent with his political principles, for on leaving his Boston Brahminism he was but following his belief in the common man as the instrument of the Almighty. This theory he expressed in his ten volumes over forty years; and though in their revision, and in the two volumes of the "Federal Constitution" which followed, he excised much of his earlier magniloquence, he maintained his theory to the end. Yet Bancroft in Berlin was misled by his theories in interpreting current events, when in the formation of the German Empire he believed he saw another example,

parallel to our own, of the influence of the masses on the development of freedom. What an opportunity he missed to proclaim its true meaning and to warn the world of the future of Prussianism! Later writers abandoned Bancroft's method, working instead from facts to generalizations; and moderns are more scrupulous than he in exact quotations and in reference to sources. But his enormous *History of the United States*, which went back to the discovery of the continent, remains a mine of facts, while his notes and papers are, as this reviewer can attest, an invaluable collection of original material. Nor has any follower covered such a vast sweep of our history. Mr. Nye's book is a welcome addition to American biography.

*Concord, Massachusetts*

ALLEN FRENCH

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. By *William Frederick Norwood*, Associate Professor of the History of Medicine and Associate Dean in the School of Medicine, College of Medical Evangelists, Los Angeles. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 487. \$6.00.)

As Dr. Henry E. Sigerist observes in his foreword to this volume, "Medical education as it was practised in the United States before the Civil War had certainly nothing to give to the world, and yet it was undoubtedly an important factor in the life of the nation." Dr. Norwood's study is for this reason less a contribution to the history of medicine than a noteworthy addition to the social history of the United States. Its central thesis is that the combination of apprenticeship to a preceptor with a term or two of classroom lectures, by which doctors were trained in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, constituted a uniquely American system of medical education, born of and fostered by the social conditions and attitudes that characterized the young republic.

The outstanding feature of the individualistic American system was the mushrooming multiplication of medical schools, most of them wholly proprietary in form and almost all of them strongly proprietary in tone. In consequence most of the teachers became men engaged in a trade, "profit-conscious rather than profession-conscious," more interested in pocketing fees than in improving the quality of instruction. Continual feuding within and between faculties dissipated mental energies, and competition for students kept standards low. Terms of study were accommodately short; costs and requirements, both for admission and for graduation, were readily adjustable to individual circumstances. Even where enough cadavers could be provided without too much danger and difficulty, or where adequate facilities for bedside instruction were available, the practical courses in dissection and clinical medicine were not required, lest the extra cost and time discourage prospective matriculants. Many a doctor went out to practice without having personally, within the school at least, seen the inside of a human body, examined a patient, or stood by the side of a woman in labor.

The general outline of this story will not be new to students of the subject,



but there is much of fresh interest in the mass of supporting details the author has painstakingly assembled. Following upon a brief survey of colonial practice and practitioners, the bulk of the book (pp. 63-379) is devoted to individual histories of the many schools, grouped according to state or region. A concluding section presents the pattern of the American system as it emerges from the individual accounts. This organization of the material undoubtedly increases the usefulness of the book for reference purposes, but it entails a degree of repetition that is wearisome in a straight-through reading.

So too is the persistent listing of mere names on the constantly changing faculties. This calls to mind, perhaps reflects, the inordinate preoccupation with profession members that is a major weakness of many state and county histories of medicine. The purposes of social history would have been better served by substituting for the faculty lists more information about such matters as the composition and caliber of the student bodies, student life and behavior in and out of the classroom, and the relationships between town and gown other than the conflict over grave robbing. The college clinics, for instance, however negligible educationally, were of great interest and perhaps importance to the lay community.

The Civil War is not merely a convenient terminal point for the study. Its coming had important effects on medical schools both North and South, and the movement for reform in medical education, like so many others, was suspended in the heat of the greater issue. It is to be hoped that in a second volume Dr. Norwood will carry his account down to the present day.

*University of Minnesota*

HELEN CLAPESATTLE

THE FIRST LINCOLN CAMPAIGN. By *Reinhard H. Luthin*, Columbia University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 328. \$3.50.)

THE origin and rise of the Republican party, the political maneuvering behind Lincoln's election to the presidency, and the causes of the Civil War have long challenged the historian to almost continuous research and writing. In his book Dr. Luthin deals with the first two and implies the third. He succeeds admirably in bringing into sharp focus the political strategy resorted to by party leaders, aspirants to office, and campaign managers. The role of personalities and the complex issues of a highly confused campaign are presented objectively and concisely. In this the author is not breaking new ground, for the subject has received the attention of many students of the period. However, within the framework of his belief that the election of 1860 was a direct cause of the Civil War, the author shows the contest to have been more than a mere political campaign. In his analysis the book becomes a case study of sectionalism, party politics, and the prelude to civil strife.

The title of the book might lead one to believe that the emphasis would be on the actual campaign following the nominating conventions. If so, such is not the case. The first nine chapters deal with the various intrigues incident to the

final rejection of all candidates except Lincoln, and the behind-the-scenes activities relative to the Chicago convention. Only fifty pages are devoted to the national contest between the parties and their candidates. Likewise, the book is shorter than indicated in the bibliographical data. The textual material covers the first 227 pages, while notes and bibliography account for the rest. However, the extensive series of notes and references constitutes an excellent guide to source materials and further indicates the author's industrious research and scholarship.

The first chapter deals with the growth of the new Republican party to 1860. It is the author's contention that early Republicanism was a sectional and purely Northern movement, and that the sectionalism upon which the party rested would not have been so intense had not the North and South differed over legislation to be secured from the Federal government. The questions of the tariff, transportation, land, and foreign relations fomented sectional cleavage. Aware of the importance of the Western vote, the Republican party embraced a program calling for internal improvements, Federal aid for railroads, and free land. Closing their ranks against assault and denying charges of radicalism on the slavery issue, Republican leaders moved to the election of 1860.

Excellent sketches of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination are set forth in a series of seven chapters. Seward is shown as the chief of the anti-slavery element, yet playing an astute political game of vote getting. In the last analysis Seward was too radical to serve the party as a whole. In the case of Chase, Bates, Cameron, Wade, Banks, and McLean, all were to prove unavailable. For one reason or another each was too radical, too conservative, or too much the representative of special interests. Lincoln remained as the one available candidate, and, backed by astute managers plus various political commitments, the convention made its choice.

One could wish that the author had devoted more space to the election battle. It was here that the final decision was made. The way the money was spent, the question of the foreign vote, the forensic efforts of party speakers, and other phases of the campaign deserve further study.

*Northwestern University*

TRACY E. STREVEY

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume III, GETTYSBURG TO APPOMATTOX. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xlvii, 862. \$5.00.)

"At first," Dr. Freeman wrote in the opening volume of the three which comprise the complete work of *Lee's Lieutenants*, "one had the feeling that these Confederates had ridden so far toward oblivion that one could not discern the figures or hope to overtake them before they had passed over the horizon of time." But, he added, "after working over historical materials of many sorts names become personalities, characteristics emerge, and reports take on the sound of a voice"—an effect which is vividly passed on to the reader by the historical craftsmanship

and literary power of the author without sacrifice of accuracy and without such devices as "fictionizing."

The whole work of more than 2,200 pages is a study of personalities—the raw material of command—and of how Lee by patience, tact, insight, and example welded his officers, "proud, individualistic, contentious," but gallant and devoted, into the working team of an army command. "There never were such men in an army before," Lee said of the force to the command of which he was called more than a year after the beginning of hostilities in Virginia, and which he immediately and instinctively christened the Army of *Northern* Virginia, destined for offensive operations. "They will go anywhere and do anything if properly led. But there is the difficulty—proper commanders."

The effort to find and develop such commanders in numbers sufficient to meet and make good the heavy losses in battle and attrition from other causes is the thread of the work. The third volume takes up the thread in June, 1863, just after the great victory at Chancellorsville, carries it on to "high tide" on the slopes of the low ridge above Gettysburg, and follows it out on the long ebb to the end at Appomattox. The volume is complete, self-contained, and may be read understandingly and enjoyably for itself alone. It is better read, however, for what it is, the third volume of a composite or multiple biography of the men who led Lee's corps, divisions, and brigades.

The *dramatis personae* of the whole work include the 47 men who served under Lee with the rank of major general or higher between the time he assumed command and the final surrender, and the 146 men who served as brigadier generals. The first volume of the work, indeed, reaches back through the year of hostilities before Lee came to the command, to set the stage and introduce the organization which he found.

This organization was itself almost fatally defective, the command being divided into "semi-autonomous, frequently jealous and often uncooperative Divisions," a state of affairs which could be remedied with extreme difficulty because of the "paralyzing law" which permitted promotion only in case of permanent vacancies and only from within each command—an interesting example of the particularist tendencies of the Confederate states. It was not until September, 1862, after the Seven Days and Second Manassas had been fought and the war had been carried from the outskirts of Richmond to the vicinity of Washington, that organization of the army into corps was authorized by statute—though it had already been accomplished informally under Longstreet and Jackson—and not until the spring of 1864 that the appointment of officers to fill temporary vacancies was enacted.

The second volume of the work closes with the reorganization of the command, after the death of Jackson, into three corps under Longstreet, "Dick" Ewell, and Ambrose Powell Hill, with the cavalry under Stuart. The third opens with the advance of the reorganized army into Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg is retold and reanalyzed. "The absence of Stuart, the indecision of

Ewell and the sulking of Longstreet," Dr. Freeman concludes, "complicated adverse conditions of combat; but the traditional easy explanation of defeat at Gettysburg as the direct and exclusive result of the shortcomings of these three men cannot be sustained." Longstreet, he writes, is not the "villain of the piece." Instead, "the mistakes of Lee and of Ewell and the long absence of Stuart were personal factors of failure as serious as Longstreet's"—a conclusion with which this reviewer is prepared to agree despite Longstreet's own revelation in his memoirs of his reluctant, hanging-back state of mind.

While the author's judgment of Longstreet's part at Gettysburg is less harsh than that of some, it is made plain that Lee's "war horse" was no more than a competent executive officer, not the great strategist that he fancied himself. "Where Longstreet's planning was original it was not practical, and where it was practical it was not original," Dr. Freeman remarks.

The author's conclusion as to Jackson is that he, too, despite his strategic skill and the power of his personality, would have been less successful as an independent army commander than he was as the great subordinate in whom Lee's "trust and confidence were absolute." One difference—and the same is said of Longstreet—lay in the management of personnel, the reconciliation of controversies so as to save the best services of all engaged, and the composure of jealousies both between West Pointers and civilian officers as a class and among the West Pointers themselves. If anyone doubts that Lee's shining ability to bring men to work together was as much responsible for the record of his army as was his strategic power, he has but to consult the parallel history of the other major Confederate army, the Army of Tennessee, under a commander conspicuously lacking in that quality.

Never having "superabundant ability" to select from in his efforts to build up the command, Lee suffered throughout from attrition. His greatest loss, that of Jackson in May, 1863, was followed a year later by that of Jeb Stuart, who "never brought a piece of false information," but who, nevertheless, does not come out of these pages as quite the plumed perfection of a cavalryman found in earlier studies.

In the one month of May, 1864, the attrition among Lee's general officers under the pounding of Grant's advance was thirty-seven per cent. It no longer was possible to replace losses with professional soldiers and so, during the last months of the war, there began to emerge the leader who up to 1861 had been a civilian—Wade Hampton, who "lacked the glamour Stuart had in the eyes of the hard-riding young troopers of 1862," but who "appealed more strongly to the temper of 1864"; John B. Gordon, whose career was such that "if the final march (to surrender at Appomattox) had been arranged to honor those who had fought hardest and with highest distinction during the last year of the war, Gordon rightly would have been put first"; and William Mahone, "who shared with Gordon and with Hampton the highest distinction of the final year of war."

But though grim necessity had brought to the front these nonprofessional soldiers of exceptional quality in the "darkening autumn of command," and while

professional training proved to be no guarantee of success, it is the studied conclusion of the author that "professional training in arms for men who were to exercise command was vindicated throughout the history of the Army of Northern Virginia." The same might be remarked of all our wars since that time, as well, although some question might be raised as to whether the overwhelming predominance of professional soldiers might not be due in part at least to greater opportunity as well as early training. It took two or more years of warfare to bring such men as Hampton, Gordon, and Mahone, with the Virginia armies, or Forrest with the armies in the West, to divisional command, but, once arrived, their performance did not suffer by comparison. Perhaps earlier and wider opportunity for such exceptional men might have altered the composition of command.

While the *Lieutenants* necessarily gives much attention to the men who commanded the corps and larger units, one of its great merits and greatest charms is that it brings to life scores and scores of the lesser figures. To name even a few of them here would be no more than mere cataloguing, but in the book each one becomes a living figure, stepping out from the past to play his own authentic personal part in the tremendous pageant of this unique multiple biography.

The book is not a history of the Army of Northern Virginia and does not purport to be. It touches only incidentally upon the problems of supply and logistics—that would be another book, which awaits the doing—and its treatment of strategy and tactics is only such as is necessary to bring out the facts as to leadership and command. It is a book, nevertheless, which will be read by students of warfare for the insight which it gives into the workings of military command in the hands of one of history's great soldiers. But it will be read by the far larger number who are neither students of warfare in general nor of this war in particular, because of its parade of personalities. After all, it is not continuing interest in the political theories of the Grecian states nor in the battle tactics of their internecine struggles which causes men still to read Thucydides but rather his exposition of the eternal verities of human nature in time of war.

Washington, D. C.

ROBERT S. HENRY

"FIRST WITH THE MOST" FORREST. By *Robert Selph Henry*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 558. \$4.00.)

FORREST is one of the most written about of all Civil War leaders. Mr. Henry's is the fifth major biography of the dashing Confederate, and the number of lesser books about him rival Dr. Eliot's famous five-foot shelf.

Why all this attention? Certainly not because of his being a gently nurtured beau sabreur. For Forrest was the son of a blacksmith, and his formal schooling aggregated no more than six months. His language was unrefined and his spelling was phonetic. He said "I seen" and "hope tote" (for help carry). He wrote on a thrice-submitted furlough application, "I have tole you twict goddamit No."

(But Mr. Henry proves beyond reasonable doubt that he didn't say "fustest with the mostest"—he didn't go in for extra syllables.)

Forrest rated himself a millionaire at the outbreak of the war. He made much of his fortune trading in slaves. A violent man, given to Olympian displays of temper, he once gave Bragg a dressing down in which he threatened to slap his superior's jaws and served notice never to obey another of his orders. He attacked with a penknife a disgruntled subordinate who tried to kill him and carved the assailant so thoroughly that he died. After the war he split with an ax the skull of a Negro who attacked him with a knife.

Yet there was a streak of tenderness in him. He was devoted to his wife and brothers. He was fond of children and adored by them. In his declining years he joined the church, but like Sam Houston he had difficulty thereafter in keeping his language orthodox.

Forrest's fame rests not on demonstrated ability to lead masses of men in combat. Never did he operate with a force comparable to a modern division. Brice's Cross Roads, his most spectacular victory, was won with about five thousand men. Forrest's renown rests on his prowess as a tactician, a fighter, and a leader. As a tactician he belongs more to the present than to the 1860's. His cavalry was to a large extent "horseborne infantry" supported by highly mobile artillery. At Brice's Cross Roads his men used artillery in close support, rolling the pieces along by hand as they advanced in line against the Federals. He used speed to get there first and cunning to make the enemy think that he was there with the most.

He fought the enemy relentlessly from Shiloh to Selma. And he was consistently to be found in the thick of the fray. He had horses shot under him twenty-nine times, he killed no less than thirty Federals in hand-to-hand encounter, and he was four times wounded. In the heat of battle he was so terrific that would-be-skulkers found it easier to face Yankee bullets than the fire of his wrath.

No one can say what he might have done with a large command. Suffice it to say that he wrought miracles with what he had and that more than once his unadopted recommendations in matters of higher strategy were correct.

Mr. Henry several years ago achieved the distinction of writing the best history of the Confederacy. He now has merited recognition as author of the best biography of Forrest. He has unearthed much material not available to other biographers. His narrative is generously documented and illumined by a series of excellent maps. The author maintains a high level of accuracy and scholarliness without once being obscure or dull.

*Washington, D. C.*

BELL IRVIN WILEY

JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET. By *Robert W. Patrick*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 401. \$3.75.)

WHEN this book was begun in 1936 the *Journal of Southern History* was in its second year, Douglas S. Freeman had just completed his four-volume biography

of R. E. Lee, and a number of other able historical writers—Craven, Owsley, Ramsdell, Randall, Robinson, etc.—were reviving the interest in the Civil War history of the South, a field which had been opened up by U. B. Phillips and others and which had already become a favorite region for historical exploration. As the author states, the task to which he set himself was an ambitious one.

Since the Confederate administration had failed to win the war, and since men in civil life are not clothed in the glamour of warriors who fall gloriously on the field of battle, Davis' cabinet members had long been relegated to obscurity. Dr. Patrick's task was made more difficult by the fact that only two of the Confederate cabinet members—there were fourteen in all—left memoirs of value, and only five of them had been subjects of biographies. Furthermore, most of these accounts had not sufficiently emphasized their mutual relationships, and the relations between the president and his cabinet. While the work was in its early stages, A. J. Hanna gave a graphic account of the last days of the cabinet in his *Flight into Oblivion* (1938), and B. J. Kendrick's interesting *Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* (1939) appeared. While these works must have narrowed the author's chosen field, room was left for further treatment of the subject.

Had Dr. Patrick presented his account in chronological form, describing the chief characters as each became prominent on the stage, there would have been less confusion and duplication in the narrative, and a better picture of the administration as a whole would have resulted. But the author frankly admits that he is not attempting a definitive account of the Southern administration. Instead, he takes each department separately and describes each cabinet member in it; and to attain some kind of unity he prefaces his book with two chapters dealing with the beginnings of the war and a general description of President Davis and his cabinet, and adds two concluding chapters giving a picture of life in the Confederate capitals and describing the flight of the chief administrative officers of the Confederacy in 1865. The author succeeds in giving a good account of the personal characteristics of the president and his cabinet, their virtues and shortcomings, their problems, the manner in which they worked together and in their separate departments, and their relations with Congress. In doing this he throws much light on the various phases of the Confederate administration.

Here we find more proof that the troubles of the Confederacy which resulted in its collapse were congenital—lack of manpower and materials, absence of a navy and the means of building one to protect the country from the blockade, extreme individualism in persons and in state governments, and the fatal optimism regarding its strength and the prospects of foreign aid. Dr. Patrick is emphatic in his opinion that the collapse of the Confederacy was not due to weaknesses within its administration. He shows that Davis was an able and co-operative administrator who chose an efficient group of cabinet members upon whom he placed due responsibility, and that these members of his administration were not treated as mere chief clerks in their respective departments.



The style of this useful book is pleasing—with the exception of the somewhat precious chapter headings. The footnotes and full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources and of secondary material testify to the careful work that went into its preparation.

*College of William and Mary*

RICHARD L. MORTON

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO. Edited by *Carl Wittke*, Professor of History, Oberlin College. [Published under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.] In six volumes. Volume IV, THE CIVIL WAR ERA, 1850–1873. By *Eugene H. Roseboom*, Associate Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xvii, 599. \$25.00 per set.)

PROBABLY no years in United States history, after the Revolution, are more important than the period covered by Dr. Roseboom in *The Civil War Era, 1850–1873*. Describing this epoch in Ohio, he devotes seventy-one pages, less than fifteen per cent of his book, to the war and war politics. Yet in this space he gives an adequate picture of Ohio's "years of doubt" and "years of decision"—the Vallandigham fiasco, John Brough's famous Union Speech, Salmon P. Chase's barefaced bid for the presidency in 1864, the Johnson Island plot, Copperhead intrigues, and Morgan's raid across the southern part of the state.

The remainder of the book describes the emergence of industrial life in rural Ohio, the revolution in transportation—greater than the change to automobiles half a century later; the problems of banking and finance which moved faster than political panaceas; constitutional regulations of cities and city corporations; the growth of coeducation, temperance, liberalism; reforms and reformers.

One chapter, "Nebraska and Nativism," is a perfect foil for Barnes's *Anti-slavery Impulse*. Both present an antithesis to the economic interpretation of the Civil War as a struggle between industrial New England and the rural South. Instead, the Old Northwest appears to have forced the political issue of abolitionism on New England and the conservative South, both more interested in restricting foreign immigration—America for Americans! Dr. Roseboom's investigations also refute the anti-Catholic origins of Know Nothingism. He thus modifies the theses of Thomas and Billington. His exposition of the Methodist church schism into peace and war factions during the Civil War is a phenomenon not mentioned by Sweet in his two books on the subject. Enlarging on Ella Lonn's authoritative work on desertion, the author states that one quarter of Ohio's absent soldiers left the army after Appomattox. These noteworthy contributions amply atone for such an unfortunate slip as "the famous Milliken Case" when the author means "ex parte Milligan."

This volume concludes Ohio's centennial history under the editorship of Carl Wittke. Certainly the work compares favorably with the several composite histories published since Illinois set the pattern in 1918. Each of the Ohio volumes,

*Gates: The Wisconsin Pine Lands of Cornell University* 569

written by one of the state's distinguished scholars, represents original research based on source material. A general index is needed very much—so is a topical bibliography, similar to the one which Angle and Beyer included in their *Handbook of Illinois History*. These two features, combined in an additional volume, would make *The History of the State of Ohio* set a new standard in its field.

*Illinois State Historical Library*

JAY MONAGHAN

THE WISCONSIN PINE LANDS OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY: A STUDY IN LAND POLICY AND ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP. By *Paul Wallace Gates*, Cornell University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 265. \$3.50.)

HISTORIES of the public domain from the pioneer studies and compilations of Donaldson, Hart, and Sato have dealt mainly with the acquisition and the enactment of disposal policies. For some years Professor Gates has been investigating, both at national and regional sources, the actual and ultimate disposal of the national heritage under the various settlement and grant acts. The present book, which brings together the findings of extensive and prolonged research, contributes significantly to that general theme. The management of the land scrip is the most obscure and confused chapter of land-grant college history. The Cornell experience in relative return was unique and, considering the complications involved, truly remarkable. At the same time the timber resources of the Wisconsin public lands afforded a prize that was struggled for with unusual intensity by the varied rival interests.

Adequate background is provided by the explanation of the attitude of the western states toward the college grant and the experiences of other typical eastern states in the disposal of their scrip. Sources have been sought exhaustively and utilized thoroughly and judiciously. With the appropriate Federal and state documents as the legal record of powers and decrees, the real story has been found in local newspapers and in a surprisingly large volume of manuscripts—land office records, county deeds, the Cornell land papers, and the correspondence of the founder, the officers, the agents of the university, and other speculators in Wisconsin lands.

This intensive regional study provides further evidence of the utter lack of foresight and planning in the whole disposal system. Grant and settlement policies reflecting different elements of pressure were enacted with no regard to conflicting areas and interests. The West opposed the college grants not because they would lead to exploitation but rather from the delay to direct utilization which absentee ownership threatened. On their side states and counties could harass the alien speculator by high and discriminatory taxes.

Amid the struggle of the various special interests, the ultimate public interest was little regarded. The present story is replete with the designs of timber rings, county rings, and railroad lobbies. The success of the Cornell pine land investment

depended upon the ability of her lawyers, land agents, and financiers to outwit or come to terms with the rival forces. Specifically the realization of the relatively munificent endowment from the scrip investment was, the author concludes, "due to the vision of Ezra Cornell, the keen judgment of H. C. Putnam, and the able management of Henry W. Sage."

The book is clearly written, fully documented, and attractively illustrated. It will be of permanent value for the history of the public lands, the land-grant college, and the lumber industry.

*Iowa State College*

EARLE D. ROSS

PITCHFORK BEN TILLMAN, SOUTH CAROLINIAN. By *Francis Butler Simkins*. [Southern Biography Series, edited by Fred C. Cole and Wendell H. Stephenson.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 577. \$4.50.)

TILLMAN was distinctly an agrarian leader of the land-owning farmer and hence an important figure in one of the great movements of his time. He was an individualistic conservative in his policies, radical only in his violent language. He accomplished certain reforms that would have come sooner or later without him, but Professor Simkins justly gives him credit for hastening their consummation. Yet Tillman must bear the blame of unnecessarily inflaming the smoldering hatred between the upper and lower classes and of inaugurating political methods that in a few years sank to such depths that he openly expressed doubt that he had acted well in advocating the county-to-county campaign, with opponents abusing each other from the same platform, and the primary election, which afforded every advantage to passion, glibness, and ignorance—a passing phase of delayed and frustrated democracy, let us hope. Nor can the old ruling class be acquitted of contributing by their refusal of reforms to the violence of the changes forced upon them.

Professor Simkins explains the difficulty of Tillman's exercising his powers in a Senate controlled by the opposite party during his prime. Yet his persistent attacks on overcharges for armor plate and his engineering of the Railroad Act of 1906 through the Senate when his Republican fellow committeemen desired its failure are achievements of national significance.

Tillman was distinctly an intellectual, widely acquainted with good English literature, and it is fitting that two of his outstanding achievements were his great part in the establishment and liberal support of Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College for men and Winthrop College for women. In his masterful suppression of the mob in its riot at Darlington, which seriously threatened to spread farther, he won the applause of Northern and British journals irrespective of their opinions on his liquor dispensary, against which the uprising occurred. Of these virtues, and also of his faults and petty meannesses, Professor Simkins writes with equal frankness.

A reviewer regrets to point out defects in so valuable a work, but such procedure may be of use to a scholar from whom we may expect other contributions. Professor Simkins' treatment of Tillman's handling of the question of Negro suffrage shows no realization of the threat of a revival of Negro power in politics which existed in the 1890's. Dangers must be met under the circumstances existing when they arise, not in some imagined utopia. If the white men of South Carolina almost fell into civil war with each other in the 1890's, as Professor Simkins so vividly describes, what would have been the violence if to the existing grievances had been added the vote in the hands of a Negro majority? The white people of the state overwhelmingly stood behind Tillman in this matter, remembering that they had been ruled by blacks supported by Federal bayonets in the state house itself only eighteen years before. The handling of the suffrage question by Tillman and the ablest Conservative leaders acting in complete accord perhaps saved South Carolina from conditions reminiscent of Reconstruction.

Furthermore, does not Professor Simkins' reiteration of Tillman's coarseness of manner and violence of speech detract rather too much from the man's largeness and importance? Is not the title of his book subject to the same criticism? A few errors occur, of which the worst is confusing Senator W. E. Chandler of New Hampshire, who entered Congress as a senator in 1887, with Zach Chandler of Reconstruction days (p. 18). The Salley Rifles (p. 254) were from Salley, South Carolina, not from Newberry. The mistake in his earlier *Tillman Movement* of giving the numbers of each faction in the Constitutional Convention of 1894 so that the total is two more than the entire membership is repeated (p. 289). The correct numbers (as Professor Simkins agreed December 1, 1941, when I called it to his attention) were Conservatives 40, Tillmanites 114, Republicans 6. Cole L. Blease lost, not won (p. 487), the prize in oratory (a gold medal, as I personally witnessed) at Newberry College. The watch was presented in protest by friends. February 8 (p. 201) should be February 18.

Professor Simkins has again put us under obligation by a full, frank, and authoritative account of an important personality and a critical period in Southern history.

Wofford College

D. D. WALLACE

THE BOOM OF THE EIGHTIES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By Glenn S. Dumke. (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1944. Pp. xi, 313. \$3.75.)

For many years, while American historians concerned themselves with the transit of civilization over many frontiers, one such frontier, the urban frontier, remained largely neglected. Even now, when the significance of urbanization in American history has come to be generally recognized, little effort has been made to describe the reproductive process through which the American city built

other cities in its own image in all parts of the country including the far western frontiers on the Pacific Coast.

Dr. Dumke's book is a highly significant, though in some respects disappointing, contribution to this aspect of our national development. That his research has been careful and thorough, within the limits he set for himself, no one can doubt. He has canvassed an extensive body of printed literature, including the more important newspaper files and all available secondary accounts. Favorably situated to exploit the resources of the Huntington Library, he has utilized the invaluable accumulation of manuscript collections bearing upon the history of the region which have been assembled there. These materials he has supplemented by an inspection of census data and unpublished county and municipal records.

The product of his investigation is a substantial summary account of the promotional aspects of the land boom of the later eighties. Eight chapters provide a modest background, point out the general factors which affected the boom as a whole—economic resources, railroad competition, advertising, irrigation, and educational improvements—and describe the methods of a number of the chief promoters. The remaining ten chapters are devoted to an examination of the developments in particular localities. If the narrative becomes at times a somewhat repetitious account of auctions and speculative realty transactions, it substantiates the author's warning against easy generalizations and permits many specific comparisons to be made.

In spite of its rehearsal of business deals, the author's portrayal of the boom, considered as a local phenomenon, is graphic and colorful. The promotional stereotypes stand out clearly, and the quotations selected from contemporary sources are well chosen and highly readable. The detail is rich and the statistical data include valuable information on land values and prices, and the volume of business. Enough local history is brought in to show the significance of the boom in the development of individual communities. A chapter on ghost towns describes those ventures which for one reason or another failed to "jell." Generally speaking, with all its waste and extravagance, the excitement of the period served to hasten a development which otherwise must have come much more slowly.

But the book does not throw light, except incidentally, on the interregional aspects of urbanization. Here and there are suggestions of this side of the picture: in the stress put upon the transcontinental railroads, the mention of the syndicates in the East which put up the money for development and advertising, and the professional promoters who came to California as experts, schooled in boom psychology through their experience in the Middle West. They are only suggestions, however, and it may well be that new techniques of interregional collaboration in research will have to be perfected before such lines of inquiry can be followed out systematically. Until urbanization is treated from the national, rather than the local point of view, we shall not fully understand it.

*University of Washington*

CHARLES M. GATES

PRAIRIE CITY: THE STORY OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY. By *Angie Debo*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xiv, 245, viii. \$3.50.)

THIS is the story of a small western community from the time of its formation in 1889 to 1942. It is not the history of any particular town for the author has combined her knowledge of many such communities into a composite picture. Except for the fact that Oklahoma, which was chosen for the setting of this particular community, has some peculiar features incident to its settlement and growth, the community might be any town in the prairie West.

In preparing the volume with the aid of an Alfred A. Knopf fellowship grant, the author studied numerous town records and local newspapers and interviewed many early settlers whose memories proved a storehouse of information with respect to life in earlier days. The result is an excellent portrayal of the pattern of American life as it has been lived in the small towns on our western prairies for the past half century. Here are revealed the hopes, dreams, and ambitions of those pioneers who planted a village on the plains and strove to make it grow. Here also is depicted the formation and development of the civic, economic, and social consciousness of a typically American community during a generation marked by greater and more rapid changes than can be found in any other similar period of years in the history of the world. In this little volume, the reader is permitted to look into the hearts of these pioneers and to see their reactions to a new environment and to events and movements of national and even world-wide importance. A vivid portrayal is given of the hardships of pioneer life, the lean years of drought, the comfort derived from a deep spiritual faith, the enthusiasm over the coming of a railroad, and the consequent advance in real estate.

In addition are depicted the tragic effects of the first World War, the feverish activity of the Ku Klux Klan, the joy over the discovery of oil, and the gloom which followed the passing of the oil boom. Finally, here is revealed the effects of the depression, the reaction to the New Deal, and the reception of the news of Pearl Harbor.

This is not the story of a single town. It is the story of virtually every western prairie town whose inhabitants may here read most of the story of their own lives and their own communities during the past fifty years. It has been written with sympathy, understanding, and truth in the broadest sense of the term, and is a significant contribution to the literature dealing with American life.

*University of Oklahoma*

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

FRANCES WILLARD: FROM PRAYERS TO POLITICS. By *Mary Earhart*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. x, 418. \$3.75.)

IN this biography we have a very readable and informing book about a woman who, for reasons developed extensively in the book, has never been correctly estimated or understood by the American public. Though the reader may not agree

in all respects with the author's estimate, he cannot fail to be impressed with the truthful effect of her conscientious and exhaustive recording.

Frances Willard possessed a complicated personality which was interwoven to an unusual extent with her public life and work. Not that her personality is hard to understand. Her father was a Puritan of the Puritans, an unstable man, and a tyrannical parent. Her brother must be a minister whether he wished it or not; Frances must attend a school of her father's sect regardless of her preference; only her younger sister, who had no wish of her own, was a child after his own heart. Under such a regime a child is slow to grow up; and this, as the author points out, was true of Frances Willard.

After experimenting for a number of years as a teacher, she found what was to prove her life's work. At thirty-nine she was swept as if by accident into the rising tide of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Henceforth her life became that of the Union. Her talents as an organizer, as an orator, as an inspirational leader found expression in the creation and guidance of a stupendous temperance organization. Miss Earhart thinks that Frances Willard looked far ahead of the reality. She "was quick to perceive that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the gate-way to her long-held vision for women." She threw her whole life into a movement which rapidly assumed phenomenal proportions in numbers and real social significance for women.

As a tactical politician Frances Willard displayed great ability. Her success in organizing the women of the South at a time when Northern leaders were taboo in that region was a keen political stroke. Similarly though with much more difficulty she swung the rank and file of her temperance organization into the movement for woman suffrage. Not until near the end of her life, and but slightly then, had she any need to employ her gift in maintaining her own position in the Union. Her hold on the thousandfold membership was an emotional hold, not easily broken in her lifetime or afterwards.

The number of social causes to which the beloved temperance leader made a contribution is incredibly large. The slogan which she invented, "For God and Home and Native Land," permitted the utmost branching out of interests and activities. But such was the energy of Frances Willard's leadership that the influence she divided in so many directions still proved strong. Of them all, the author of this biography thinks, she leaned most toward woman suffrage, labor unionism, and socialism.

Miss Earhart believes that Frances Willard's contribution to woman suffrage was not only powerful: it was paramount. Her conviction of the importance of this influence, to which other histories have also paid some tribute, betrays her into several misleading and belittling comments on the woman suffrage movement sponsored by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. This is an unfortunate error, suggesting a sectional bias in a book which generally aims and otherwise does so much to fill up a hitherto wide gap in American social history.

*New York City*

KATHARINE ANTHONY



EDWARD BELLAMY. By *Arthur E. Morgan*. [Columbia Studies in American Culture, Number 15.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 468. \$5.00.)

AFTER Bellamy's death, Mason Green, who had been associated with him in the Nationalist Club and was managing editor of the *New Nation*, undertook to write his biography. The work was never finished, and Mr. Morgan's volume is the first biography of Bellamy to be published. Many Bellamy papers were destroyed when Mason Green's home was burned in 1906, but Mr. Morgan has had at his disposal fragments of Green's work as well as notebooks and other unpublished material by Bellamy himself. The book, therefore, whatever its shortcomings, has considerable value for both the literary and the social historian.

One cannot help wishing, however, that the first biography of Bellamy could have been less pretentious and more perceptive. To begin with, the plan of the book is heavy-handed and clumsy. "Each of the several lives which Edward Bellamy lived," Mr. Morgan tells us, "had a unity of its own which would be lost to the reader if a record of that interest should be broken up and scattered through a rigid chronological framework." But the effect of his topical arrangement—Bellamy as rebel, as writer, as philosopher, as political economist, and so forth—is to make impossible any clear realization of Bellamy as a living human being. How mechanical this procedure can be is demonstrated by the chapter called "The Rebel," which discusses the rebel in love, the rebel in religion, the rebel against fame, and so on through ten subdivisions. After Mr. Morgan has finished taking Bellamy apart, it would be useless to call in the king's horses and the king's men.

Mr. Morgan makes startling claims for Bellamy, representing him as the equal or superior of Freud, Marx, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Henry George. Yet, enthusiastic as is the praise he heaps upon *Looking Backward*, his own analysis of the book is prevailingly destructive. He admits, for instance, that Bellamy's expectation of a quick and easy transition to the Nationalist state was the result of a faulty understanding of psychology, sociology, and history. As might be expected from the author of *The Small Community*, he is dubious about the degree of centralization Bellamy recommended. He finds flaws in Bellamy's scheme of economic equality and criticizes his program of public ostentation. One of his most interesting revelations concerns Bellamy's youthful interest in the military life, an interest that clearly determined the kind of regimentation advocated in *Looking Backward*. Mr. Morgan wavers at this point, halfheartedly defending regimentation and lamely insisting that Bellamy wanted freedom, but in effect he comes to the conclusion that Bellamy was wrong. What, then, is left? If Bellamy was a false prophet, on what do his claims to greatness rest?

A less extravagant evaluation of Bellamy as thinker might have led Mr. Morgan to give us a clearer account of Bellamy as a person and would almost certainly have led him to look more closely at American life in the eighties and nineties for an explanation of Bellamy's influence. In attempting to prove Bellamy's originality

—and he calls him more original than Marx—Mr. Morgan repeatedly comes back to his minimizing of the class struggle. This can scarcely be called an original idea, and to give Bellamy sole credit for holding back Marxist influences in America is to be much too generous. Furthermore, though Marxism is certainly open to criticism, one cannot dispose of it, as Mr. Morgan tries to do, simply by calling it a European ideology. If Bellamy affected the thinking of a generation, it was not because he was a Marx or a Freud or an Emerson, but because he said more clearly, convincingly, and charmingly than anyone else what many persons were thinking and not a few were saying. The truth is, one fears, that Mr. Morgan does not fully understand socialism or American history or even Edward Bellamy.

*Grafton, New York*

GRANVILLE HICKS

THE WILSON ERA: YEARS OF PEACE, 1910-1917. by *Josephus Daniels*, Secretary of the Navy, 1913-1921. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 615. \$4.00.)

No man now living is better fitted to write of the years between 1910 and 1917 than Josephus Daniels, for here is no bystander or mere chronicler but one who was at the heart of things. Editor of his own paper in North Carolina and an ardent champion of true democracy, he played an important part in the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson. Secretary of the Navy for eight years, he at no time confined his activities to this designated field. His relations with the White House were intimate, and not only did the President advise with him on policies but he confided in him. His fellow Cabinet members liked and admired him and took frequent advantage of his political acumen and sound judgment, so that he came to know their problems as well as his own.

Above all, he was a zestful man, in love with life and living, who brought to every contact a warmly human interest. That is why his book has in it none of self-centeredness that marks the usual adventure in autobiography and why it is refreshingly free from the smugness of those diaries in which public figures are so busy painting favorable pictures of themselves that they have no time for other portraiture. Full of lusty anecdote and vivid incident, a panoramic treatment of a stirring era, Mr. Daniels' book is brilliantly alive.

It may be argued that the work is not history in the strict sense, but it is certain that historians will find it a treasure store of "inside information" about a great and critical period in American affairs. Woodrow Wilson, taking office with a political philosophy fully formed, lost no time in leading the revolt of an awakened idealism against entrenched materialism, and Josephus Daniels, politically wise and staunchly progressive, stood at his side throughout the struggle.

Tariff revision, rural credits, the Federal Reserve system, the Adamson eight-hour law, the Federal Trade Commission, the Clayton Antitrust Act, Workmen's Compensation, child labor laws, the Seamen's Act, and minimum wage legislation were among the victories that Wilson won in his fight to take loaded dice away

from special privilege and return government to the people. Not the least tragedy of the World War was that it forced Woodrow Wilson to quit his domestic program, for with his clear vision and inflexible purpose he planned further fundamental reforms that would have built our social and economic structure on solid rock. Mr. Daniels is at his best in dealing with these battles, packing his chapters with unprinted facts and shrewd comment on men and motives.

He is no less authoritative in handling the trying period of neutrality, making clear the conflicting passions that tore at American unity, and the President's own patient efforts to chart a purely American course. One by one he follows Mr. Wilson's notes, so derided at the time, showing how they unmasked Germany's sinister intent, even as they led both America and the Allies to high, firm ground. No more revealing account of those unhappy years, so filled with hates and confusions, has ever been written, for Josephus Daniels saw all, heard all, and was himself in the thick of it. It is to be trusted that his new book, covering the war years, will follow the same intimate, lively pattern.

With characteristic modesty, and an utter absence of self-pity, Mr. Daniels minimizes his own part in the Wilsonian struggles, yet he was one of the most powerful and effective figures and not even the President was more the object of malignity and derision. Honesty, efficiency, and a flaming faith in democracy were his offenses, and unceasing attack was the price he paid for saving millions of the people's money from rascals in high place, for breaking up the "arm chair clique" that made the Navy a private club, for making merit the test of promotion, and for opening the door of advancement to enlisted men.

The manner in which the Navy performed during two years of war gave devastating answer to his critics, and no less a man than Admiral Dewey acclaimed him as a great, if not *the* greatest Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Daniels might also have pointed out that not one of the reforms instituted by him—all denounced as dangerous and destructive—has ever been abandoned.

Just as his enemies assailed his appointment by Mr. Wilson, asking what a country editor could possibly know about the Navy, so were they equally vociferous when President Roosevelt appointed him our ambassador to Mexico. Yet here again he made good, for his honesty, sincerity, simplicity, and forthright democracy resulted in the establishment of relations between the two countries that were better than ever before in history. The qualities that made him a successful secretary and a beloved ambassador shine out in every line of his book, giving it unique and lasting value.

*Washington, D. C.*

GEORGE CREEL

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL, 1933-1938. By *Basil Rauch*. (New York: Creative Age Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 368. \$2.50.)

Mr. Rauch has made a noble attempt in a hazardous field. He has produced as good a description of the New Deal as we have, without making votes for any

candidate. His struggle has been with the multiplicity of happenings in the United States between 1933 and 1938, a multiplicity any one of whose units would justify a treatise. The sum total has been obscured to the contemporary eye by world affairs and partisan politics, by the denunciation of opponents and the over-praise of friends. Until a better book has been put together, this *History of the New Deal* may well live at the elbow of any student of the Roosevelt period. To write a better one, the author will have to fight complexity to the very death.

It was, after all, a successful political impudence to claim the word "new" for the chapter in American development beginning in 1933. Nearly every one of the problems crowding into Mr. Rauch's chapters had its roots in the half century after the Granger cases. What happened to the roots was the forcing process of panic, which brought about a congested period of blossom, and some unexpected cross-fertilizations. But the blossoming was not inharmonious with prepanic forecasts. In normal times our needed readjustments follow their causes with considerable lag; but in the New Deal period, with leadership and showmanship to pull and panic to drive, a generation of experiment and test was crowded into half a dozen years. Mr. Rauch traces the course of the New Deal measures from the recesses of the brain trust to the Supreme Court and the stump, properly noting the small fraction to which a majority of the Court has taken exception. He has perhaps relied too greatly on the President's *Public Papers and Addresses*, for the second Roosevelt, like the first, has made his own gloss upon his career temptingly available. The New Deal has been put into an intelligible, though difficult, synthesis.

There is excellent authority for splitting the New Deal into two phases, one aimed at lifting from the top, the other at uplifting from the bottom; but the author might to advantage have given more stress to the character of measures in the earlier group as fundamentally for "recovery." The New Deal took hold in the midst of driving panic, when time was of the essence. The early measures follow similar efforts of the Hoover period closely enough to be regarded as the final phases of that period, though laid on with a freer hand and in an atmosphere dominated by prayer for action rather than by obstruction on principle. Of necessity they partook of some of the objectives of the later New Deal but they lacked much of the character of a deliberate reconstruction of Federal policies.

It is too much to hope that each of the innumerable interests pressing in these years for priority on the statute books will like its treatment. But for the general, and patient, reader, and for the historian, who has to be patient, the volume is sensible, accurate, and useful.

*University of California*

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN LIFE: ESSAYS AND CRITICAL  
BIBLIOGRAPHIES. Edited for the Princeton Program of Study in American

Civilization by *David F. Bowers*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 254. \$3.00.)

THE climactic experience of Princeton undergraduates in the recently inaugurated major in American civilization is the senior conference. During their final year the majors meet regularly to discuss some topic sufficiently general to permit interdisciplinary consideration. The director and colleagues from the social sciences and the humanities introduce various phases of the subject and supply bibliographies. These talks and the students' reading form the bases of the discussions. The book under review contains in essay form the material used in 1942-1943.

Mr. Bowers by way of general introduction explains the peculiar appropriateness of the topic of "foreign influence" because within its range it permits analysis of any level of American culture and comparison with similar levels in the cultures from which impact comes. He also explains the limits which the complexities of the problem prescribe. A time span, 1800-1941, was set and the study confined to "selected ethnic and national groups" and their influence upon "selected phases of American life" (p. 7), such as Americanization, assimilation, economic ethics, politics, art, literature, religion, and philosophy. In each phase the impact is considered under the rubrics of process, effect, and evaluation. The emphasis throughout is on process, a complex process evolving in time.

Mr. Persons in discussing Americanization argues for a fusion of the historical and the sociological approaches and proceeds to illustrate how it can be done. More experiments of this type would advance progress toward a general social science. Mr. Leyburn in analyzing the difficulties of assimilation uses the comparative method, taking the contrasting situations presented by European, Oriental, and Negro. He believes that in the long run racial amalgamation will be the solution. Mr. Graham uses the historical method in tracing the development of European economic ethics and the way in which these concepts have been modified by American conditions. The result is chaotic he believes, for it is his view that we have achieved no sure economic ethic because the "building of an American civilization is yet in a stage of chaos and immaturity" (p. 83).

In discussing the immigrant in politics, Mr. Handlin makes the point, among others, that the immigrant has generally been a conservative rather than a radical force. Most significant is his suggestion that the foreign elements have periodically supplied a scapegoat to be used in times of stress and uncertainty when communities are unwilling or unable to face the facts of their distress.

In the realm of art Mr. Egbert passes the various foreign influences in chronological review. The force of the impact, he concludes, varies with the correspondence of these impulses to native tendencies. As yet, American art has developed no dominant tradition of its own. Mr. Blackmur illustrates the literary impact by discussing expatriates. He believes that men like Henry James are "neither eccentric nor escapist, but orthodox and direct in their seizure of a theme" (p. 145),

*i.e.*, cultural unhappiness and insufficiency in a new country, thrust upon them by the fact of the great migration.

Mr. Bowers concludes the symposium with a discussion of the growth of the American religious and philosophical tradition under foreign influence, particularly that of Germany and Great Britain illustrated by Hegel and Darwin. The interaction of European thought and American behavior has produced the instrumentalism of Dewey. This later philosophy uses "the Darwinian and Hegelian conception of history as a new ground for asserting moral and political relativism." The author believes that this is a "revolutionary break with the past" which in no slight degree "promises to transform the character and structure of American life" (p. 167).

The essays are written primarily to educate and to stimulate the most intelligent of the undergraduates, but they have a quality which invites a wide reading. Each presents a carefully thought out and neatly written summary of the state of knowledge in the respective fields. These are spiced by the individuality of most of the writers, whose views will in several cases probably be challenged by their intra-disciplinary colleagues. The book is likewise convenient because of its series of comprehensive bibliographies supplied with appropriate introductions, classifications, and annotations. Finally these essays deserve careful consideration as studies in methodology. Here the historian will find some interesting demonstrations of his indispensability to the humanities and the social sciences, for he finds his work and his method the basis of the argument of all save one of the writers. These essays illustrate the importance of the historical method in the instrumentalism which dominates the symposium.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE RISE OF FERNANDO CORTES. By *Henry R. Wagner*. [Documents and Narratives concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, New Series, Number Three.] (Berkeley: Cortes Society. 1944. Pp. xxxvi, 564.)

I MUST confess that Henry R. Wagner's book is rather puzzling to me. I cannot understand why anyone should devote years of minute study to tracing the career of a man whom one does not hold in particular esteem. Wagner states in the introduction of his book, "My main object has been to put Cortés himself in proper perspective, to give him his due." In my opinion his book fails to accomplish this. The author believes that the best means to gain the proper view is to resort to contemporary documents in order to unearth some "additional facts."

The frequently recurring words "additional" and "add," the very blame which Wagner attaches to all the historians since Prescott for not having "added" anything to our knowledge of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, are symptomatic. He is a typical positivist and believes that in order to see the wood one has to count all the trees, branches, and leaves.

Yet it is Taine himself, an author supposedly not out of favor with the positivists, who maintains that a great number of documents can only serve, in the writing of history, as a means of getting at the man that exists behind them. It is exactly this which Wagner fails to perceive; he lacks the awareness of man, as man exists in history, within the frame of a concretely determined situation, under the influence of specific moral and physical factors. It is this situation and these factors which the historian has to grasp in order to understand his "man."

Wagner is a business man, and his earliest interest in history was in its economic aspects, to be more precise, in mining, as he states in his autobiography entitled *Bullion to Books: Fifty Years of Business and Pleasure*. Whatever falls within the material world, whatever he can measure, number, weigh, arouses his enthusiasm, and therein he feels perfectly at home. In the book under review, the ascertainment of the quantitative scaffolding of the facts—establishment and verification of dates, distances of itineraries, monetary evaluation of the booty of the Spaniards, etc.—is of unmatched exactitude.

This impressive and extremely solid scaffolding remains nevertheless hollow, because Wagner is unable to see and feel either Hernan Cortés or the latter's historical world. "To analyze his character is a fascinating if baffling task," he says. Such is undoubtedly the case. But the focusing of the problem should be exactly the opposite to that selected by Wagner, otherwise the task will remain too baffling. The historian must approach his man from within, recreating him from within-outwards, outlining, in addition, all the environmental factors. It is by this approach only that understanding may be secured. If understanding fails, the easiest attitude is scoffing, in which Wagner indulges only too often. The conduct of Cortés in destroying the idols is "almost insane"; his interview with Olintecle, highly symbolical of the clash between the Spanish world and that of the natives, is "very amusing." Montezuma is a coward, Fray Toribio de Motolinía not above the "superstitions" of his time, etc.

The book is out of focus because of this lack of historical sense and human understanding, in spite of its formidable accumulation of "facts." Not that Wagner condemns the achievement of Cortés and the Spaniards, as many Mexican historians have done, in the belief that the Spanish conquest was an evil for their country, for he has just as little insight into the natives' world. He goes so far as to say that Cortés could not be the founder of the Mexican nation for the very simple reason that the Mexican nation has no existence.

In Rickert's terms, Wagner possesses a perception for the "natural," but is blind to the "cultural"; this is the main feature of his book, which will be hard to supersede in so far as its wealth of information on the most external aspects of the conquest of New Spain is concerned, but which will have to be utilized, as Wagner says of Bernal Díaz's *True History of the Conquest*, "with the utmost caution."



TIMELESS MEXICO. By *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 436. \$3.50.)

THIS is a popular book which it would be unfair to judge by the canons of specialized research scholarship. Mr. Strode, already the author of works on such diverse countries as Finland and Bermuda, can hardly be expected to have developed more than a sporadic acquaintance with the primary sources of Mexican history. But he has done a respectable job of synthesizing a substantial selection of monographic and other secondary material, with emphasis upon works in English. The result is an eminently readable account of some of the highlights of Mexican history which this reviewer, with the qualifications noted below, is glad to recommend to the general public.

The task of reducing the complexities of Mexico's past to a sufficiently simple form to engage and hold popular reader interest is admittedly difficult. Since the writing of any sort of history is necessarily a highly selective process, one need not quarrel with Mr. Strode for seeking to attain simplicity through drastic condensation and even omission of material. What *is* open to question is his uneven application of the selective technique in a volume that purports to give a balanced presentation of Mexican development. To compress the story of almost four hundred years, from the Spanish conquest to the fall of Porfirio Díaz, into approximately the same space allotted the thirty-five years since the latter event distorts historical perspective. It is particularly to be regretted that the author should have dismissed the nearly three centuries of viceregal rule in a mere seventeen pages of sometimes reckless generalization. Precisely because Mr. Strode has focused his book upon modern Mexico, it may be argued that he might well have analyzed with special care and considerably greater detail the long germinal period of the colony from which so many of the institutions of the present day have grown.

One reason for the author's neglect of Mexican colonial beginnings is doubtless his failure to find any "name of prime renown" from Cortés to the curate Hidalgo. One might venture the opinion that such figures as Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Father Eusebio Kino are at least as deserving of renown in the whole story of Mexico as Pancho Villa, but the author is doubtless right in suggesting that the impersonal dominion of Spain from beyond the seas makes it hard to personify Mexico in these colonial leaders. On the other hand, the *caudillos* of the conquest and national periods lend themselves ideally to such treatment; and the author has ably used the opportunity to simplify his story by building it round strong, colorful figures who have dominated their respective periods. Cortés is naturally the first in the series, and the oft-told story of the conquest of Tenochtitlán here loses none of its perennial interest. Next, after a gap of centuries, come the "patriot priests" Hidalgo and Morelos, who personify the earlier stages of the struggle for independence. Iturbide is vividly presented as the "upstart" emperor who gains a precarious throne by leading a coalition of liberal and conservative revolutionists against a temporarily radical Spain. The career of Santa Anna

bridges the complex gap between the fall of Iturbide's monarchy and the rise of Juárez, who similarly dominates the mid-century period of reform and French intervention. Díaz, in the book as in fact, reigns in the period from the seventies through the first decade of the present century. Mr. Strode has done an excellent job of making the lives of these men reflect the essential features of their respective times.

The frequent clash of strong men in "Revolutionary" Mexico, from 1910 to the present, makes it harder to tell the recent story in biographical form. The author singles out one man of this period for special attention—and commendation: Lázaro Cárdenas. Professional historians may hope that Mr. Strode is right in characterizing Cárdenas as the perfect knight of the Revolution, without fear and without reproach, but would probably tend to wait until all the facts are in before committing themselves to this enthusiastic appraisal. None can take issue, however, with the author's liberal sympathies with Mexico's strivings to attain economic, social, and political reform.

In general, this book reflects the author's conscientious attempt to get at the facts of Mexican history. The reviewer has found only on occasional factual error (such as crediting Moses, rather than Stephen F., Austin with negotiations for Texan lands with Iturbide); and mistakes in spelling of Spanish names ("Piño," rather than "Pino," Suárez) or accentuation ("Apódaca," for Apodaca") are few in number.

*University of California*

JAMES FERGUSON KING

A CENTURY OF LATIN-AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *William Rex Crawford*, Cultural Attaché, United States Embassy, Rio de Janeiro. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. 320. \$3.50.)

A BOOK must be judged, if fairly, by the purpose for which it was written. Strictly speaking, this work is an anthology and, as such, it is subject to the inevitable failings of that kind of writing. Much must necessarily be left out, and the treatment of what is undertaken must be to a large extent superficial. By this I mean that, in the present case, the historic significance of the trends and main currents of Latin-American thought has not been taken in hand, which, after all, is the true problem for the scholar. The present book, therefore, must be regarded as an introduction and not as a contribution to the study of Latin-American thought. The author is aware of this since he intended his book for average educated North American readers, amongst whom, in this particular instance, one should like to include primarily the student bodies of the universities. Dr. Crawford is dead right in pointing out the gap in knowledge in the United States concerning the history and actual standing of Latin-American thought, and in this connection his book is praiseworthy and highly commendable.

As an anthology and considering what the book purports there is little if any

criticism to offer, except perhaps that it might have been advisable to include, as an appendix or otherwise, fairly lengthy transcriptions, bilingual if possible, from some of the more representative thinkers dealt with in the text. This would have added to the book a larger range of expediency for college use and, besides, a means of experience for the reader who would relish a direct contact with the Latin-American way of thinking. The suggestion is of special import if one agrees with Dr. Crawford, as one must, on the paramount significance that literary form has for Latin-American thinkers.

But one is tempted to be more critical about what the author has to say in his chapter of introduction, where he makes something of an attempt at a synthesis and at an interpretation of the general trends in Latin-American thought. The result is way under what was to be expected both from the wealth of the subject matter and the well-deserved reputation of the author. In the first place he painfully misconstrues the opinion of Dr. José Gaos, who never said what the author takes as being his thesis. But of more importance is the one serious instance of critical approach to the subject where Dr. Crawford states that in Latin America "there is little thought of the absent, distant, unknown, anonymous, impersonal reader, and consequently little acceptance of the kind of scientific responsibility that accompanies addressing him, and perhaps an excessive tendency toward the esthetic and amethodical." But precisely there is the rub. Has Dr. Crawford asked himself why this neglect, if it be true, of what he calls scientific responsibility? And has he given thought to the deep motives that may underlie that tendency toward the aesthetic and amethodical which seems so excessive to him? May it not well be that such a rejection on the one hand and such an emphasis on the other hand, are eloquent symptoms of the essence of a peculiar and unique way of thinking which strives thus, through aesthetic channels, to express the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Latin-American world? Such a priori qualifications with which in good faith the author stigmatizes Latin-American thought, should be carefully revised by him, lest they turn out to be biased assumptions on his part, which, in the long run, will hinder him from an authentic and discerning understanding of the deeper significance of all those writers to whom he has given so much study and devotion.

*University of Mexico*

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN LATIN AMERICA? By *George P. Howard*. Foreword by John A. Mackay. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1944. Pp. xxii, 170. \$2.00.)

To review this book I have been granted the space taken up by four hundred printed words. They are really unnecessary; all that one needs are two capital letters, to wit: N.G.

It is indeed very seldom that one finds nowadays a book dealing with Hispanic America so biased, so utterly misleading, so superficial and on top of it all so

meekly arrogant. One does not have to take a part in the strictly religious issues between Catholicism and Protestantism to accept frankly that Catholicism is the backbone of Hispanic American culture, or better still, that it is the very essence of its being. The enormous historic significance of this obvious truth is either ignored or maliciously overlooked by the author. His book is fundamentally based on the assumption that Catholicism in Hispanic America is at the root of all its evils, a sort of chronic cancer which hinders progress and makes democracy impossible. But of course it is progress and democracy as he understands them.

Religious questions in Hispanic America require, in order that they be intelligently dealt with, a very deep knowledge and clear understanding of the peculiarities and outstanding uniqueness of the Hispanic mentality and therefore of its culture and history. Furthermore, for the Protestant North American writer, or even Catholic, an exceptionally open-minded approach is essential if he wishes to avoid the fallacies of century-old prejudices and the inanity of a smug complacency of a self-assumed superiority. The author of this book is unfortunately lacking in all these requisites.

The gist of the book is that Hispanic America has no choice except that of following in the wake of the United States, and that, of course, to become Protestant is the only way to achieve that heavenly status. But the trouble with the author's beliefs and assumptions is that they are based on gross ignorance and sectarian prejudice. The source material of his book consists solely in some goody-goody anecdotes and a number of interviews with people whom he never fails to call most distinguished and highly respectable. Not even an attempt at an interpretation of one single great event of our history is to be found, and not one of the greater works of or about Hispanic America is as much as mentioned. His blindness, whether natural or intentional, in regard to Hispanic American sentiments, artistic feelings, traditions, and ways of life in general is incredible, but even more so are his notions on history. One could quote an ocean of absurdities amongst which his contention that "the classic tradition made no contribution" (p. 103) to democracy is a veritable jewel. He further holds that Latin-American "intellectuals also need to be saved from dilettantism, from superficiality, from cynicism" (p. 100) and proposes, I assume, that a man like himself is fit for the job. It is this same person, however, who can make such a stupid and ignorant remark as that one first quoted, to which he sweepingly adds that "Democracy did not exist in the Greek republics" (p. 103). A few lessons in etymology would do him no harm.

*University of Mexico*

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1942. Edited by *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [An Annual Survey: No. 2.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 252. \$3.00.)

EVERY aspect of inter-American affairs in the year 1942 was colored by the fact that for the United States and eleven other nations this was the first year of

full participation in the greater World War. A half century of Pan Americanism and a decade of Good Neighborliness had brought Americans closer together, yet this cordiality was jeopardized and, in part, sacrificed, as the United States, by measures short of war, took the fateful steps toward complete involvement. Pearl Harbor stirred moral indignation throughout the hemisphere, yet, as 1942 opened, so dismal were the military prospects of the United Nations that prudent Latin Americans naturally hesitated to throw in their lot against the Axis. High points of the year included the meeting of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro; Germany's submarine campaign, which precipitated the entrance of Mexico and Brazil into the war but had the opposite effect on Argentina and Chile; improvements of hemisphere defenses, especially through bases made available to the United States; exposure of subversive activities and synarchism; vastly stimulated production of critical materials; and an easing of the tension with the landings in North Africa. Other of the year's events, though seemingly remote, were influenced by the war. These included the settlement of the boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru; the agreement on compensation for oil properties previously confiscated by Mexico; the resumption of diplomatic relations between Latin America and Russia; and the concordat reducing the Vatican's political influence in Colombia. The war was responsible for a decline in exchanges of students and scholars, but it stepped up other phases of the cultural relations program, and it made the year momentous in hemisphere relations.

For the most part this volume follows the pattern set the preceding year. Katherine F. Lenroot, Eugene D. Owen, George C. Dunham, and Kenneth Holland are substituted for William L. Schurz and Amos E. Taylor of the 1941 contributors, and John P. Humphrey and Constant Southworth are recruited to cover Canada. In spots these writers were hampered by restricted sources. The contributions likewise are uneven in quality. The first section on politics and diplomacy is a masterpiece; the Canadian section of the same is querulous over delayed realization that Canada is an independent nation; and the report on social welfare is largely a summary of resolutions put on paper. Although the historically minded may prefer the 1941 volume, partly because it reviewed inter-American relations through the preceding half century as well as in the chosen year, this second volume, more strictly a yearbook, has compensating superiorities, not least of which is the inclusion of Canada.

*University of California at Los Angeles*

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

# \* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

## General History

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORICAL THOUGHT. An Inaugural Lecture delivered at Cambridge on 16 May 1944 by *G. N. Clark*, Regius Professor of Modern History. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 24, 50 cents.)

FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By *Otto Neurath*. [International Encyclopedia of Unified Sciences, Volume II, No. 1.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 54, \$1.00.)

ADAPTING INSTRUCTION IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES. Edited by *Edward Krug* and *G. Lester Anderson*. [Fifteenth Yearbook.] (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, 1945, pp. 160, cloth \$2.30, paper \$2.00.)

THE SOCIAL STUDIES LOOK BEYOND THE WAR. (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, 1945, pp. 40, 10 cents.) "A statement of postwar policy prepared by an advisory commission of 155 leading educators in the social studies field."

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1943-1944. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries and edited by *Edward A. Henry*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1944, pp. xiii, 88, \$2.50.)

CORNELL UNIVERSITY ABSTRACTS OF THESES, 1943. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944, pp. 463, \$2.00.)

YORKSHIRE CLOTH TRADERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1770-1840. By *Herbert Heaton*. [Publications of the Thoresby Society, Miscellany, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, No. 88.] (Leeds, Thoresby Society, 1944, pp. 225-312, v.) From miscellaneous bits of information collected from many sources the author has pieced together an article which is a valuable contribution to American economic, social, and business history. It traces over two generations the transfer of men, goods, and business experience from Yorkshire to the United States; it illustrates an important aspect of the transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism; and it throws light on the development of American manufacturing and business. Written to be read before a local group interested especially in Yorkshire history, the article does not give enough of the British background nor, indeed, of the American business background to indicate the full meaning of the story told. Readers can, however, fill that in from Professor Heaton's own book on the Yorkshire woolen and worsted industry and from Professor Albion's and Dr. Harrington's work on the history of business in New York City. The important thing is that the author presents new information on aspects of our history which American historians have largely overlooked. The article is concerned with a considerable number of young Yorkshiresmen who between 1770 and 1840 came to America, chiefly to New York City, to sell the products of the Yorkshire woolen and worsted manufacturers. The author tells who they were, whom they represented in Yorkshire, how they lived, what the nature of their business was, how wars, tariffs, depressions, and changing business conditions in the United States affected them, how successful they were, and what finally happened to them. HENRIETTA M. LARSON

A SHORTER HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By *Sir William Cecil Dampier* (formerly *Whetham*), Fellow and Sometime Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge; Fellow of Winchester College. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. x, 189, \$2.00.) This book is a truly remarkable feat of condensation. Within 173 pages of well-spaced and legible text, the author presents a comprehensive survey of science from prehistoric times to the present. Yet this compactness is achieved neither by vague generalizations nor by the shortcuts of technical language. The style is scientifically precise, yet lively and readable. Perhaps such a book could have been written only by a man who previously had covered this same field in a longer work, which he was free to compress, rewrite, and adapt to suit his purpose. For this book, as Sir William says in his preface, is a shorter version of his *History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion*, from which most of the philosophic and religious material has been omitted. Yet the cement that bound together his original synthesis is still visible in the coherence of the present work. The steps in the growth of science are set forth in terms that relate them not only to one another but also to other lines of thought. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that this book will not serve as a beginner's introduction to the subject. It presupposes a general knowledge of the elements of the various sciences and some degree of familiarity with fundamental scientific concepts, particularly those of recent origin. Its greatest service perhaps will be rendered to scientists and nonscientists alike whose knowledge remains specialized or fragmentary and who want a unified perspective of an aspect of history that is usually presented only piecemeal or as auxiliary to other characteristics of our civilization. The removal of the detailed discussion of philosophies and religions that appeared in the author's earlier work has reduced controversial matter to a minimum. With the revival of many distinctly Aristotelian concepts in atomic theory—currently plagued as this theory is by the "principle of uncertainty"—Sir William's impatience with those concepts is perhaps somewhat reactionary. On occasion, also, he seems to put the work of some English scientists nearer the center of the stage than would a Continental or American historian. Details of this kind, however, are extrinsic to the book's main theme and purpose.

RONALD MILLAR

THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO GERMAN POLITICO-LEGAL THOUGHT. By *John H. Hallowell*. [University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume I, Number 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1943, pp. xi, 145.) It is Hallowell's intention to prove two theses in his dissertation: that liberalism declined as an ideology and that this decline led to totalitarianism "peculiar not to Germany, but to Western civilization." His review of the history of the ideas of liberalism consisting of quotations of outstanding contemporary thinkers is most helpful. He shows how, "as a way of life, liberalism reflected the aspirations and ideals of the rising commercial classes." Unfortunately this thought did not accompany the author through the second part of his book. He might have come to different conclusions if he had tried to observe more intimately the "relationship between capitalism and liberalism" without accepting "liberalism only as a convenient rationale for capitalism." He explains correctly that "individuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were restrained politically and economically by authorities." "The rising commercial class rebelled against these restraints," but only as far as the protection of their interests demanded. Fearing that the revolt would go further, they finally turned against their own rebellion. This way, Carl Schmitt "grew" into the position of the "Crown Jurist" of Nazism. The author quotes particularly German thinkers. He takes the opportunity to correct the almost generally accepted description of Fichte as an ideological force.



runner of the National Socialists. He analyzes the followers of Neo-Kantianism and of Neo-Hegelianism as the gravediggers of liberalism. But it does not seem as if the passages quoted by the author always support his conclusions. Hallowell makes some quite risky comparisons in identifying the spiritual background of the decline of liberalism with expressionism and cubism in the field of painting, Schönberg and Stravinsky in the field of music, and Karl Barth in the field of religion, but his thesis stimulates thinking and challenges criticism.

MAX WOLFF

PIONEERING IN PENOLOGY: THE AMSTERDAM HOUSES OF CORRECTION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By *Thorsten Sellin*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944, pp. viii, 125, \$2.50.)

THE CIVILIZATION OF SPAIN. By *J. B. Trend*, Professor of Spanish in the University of Cambridge, Member of the Hispanic Society of America. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, CXCIII.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 223, \$1.25.) Professor Trend has woven a lively, clear, and very readable account of Spain's civilization, the scant outline of political events being interlaced with the words and ideas of its actual participants, thus a welcome supplementary reading book for both history and Spanish classes, as well as appealing to the general reader. This civilization is essentially a product of great racial admixture and geography. Poor soil, extremes of climate, a mountainous country, and sparse rainfall have produced a perennial crop of agrarian problems, aggravated by Castilian ill-advised economic policies. "The most deeply rooted Spanish tradition is political separatism," and the broad outlines of Catalan aspirations are fairly discussed. However, Professor Trend, like most Castilians and teachers of Spanish (*i.e.*, Castilian), belittles Catalan literary accomplishments by stating only that "they had had a good medieval literature." One should not thus lightly dismiss the work of Ramon Llull, the thirteenth century Catalan missionary-mystic whose writings crystallized the Catalan language in his attempts to erect a whole philosophical system designed to convert Moslems by reason rather than by sword, a notable example in the history of propaganda. Schools devoted to his teachings existed for almost two hundred years. Though Moslems, too, had become Spaniards, the church saw only their religion, not their nationality, and forced their expulsion, as well as that of the Jews. Ideologically, unification was religious, not political. Spaniards are not politically immature, as is commonly believed. Traditions of law, of a ruler subject to law (and God), of legislative and representative assemblies antedate any others of Europe. Municipal tradition has persisted since Iberian times. Brief critical bibliographies, mainly of English works, and an index are appended, an improvement over other volumes in this series, but the omission of George Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* is regrettable since his studies, more than any others, have rehabilitated the Spanish (including Moslem) Middle Ages in the field of science. There is no evidence that a future pope (Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II), studied among the Moslems (p. 53). Trend might have cited as evidence of Spanish civilization the copiously illustrated *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), whose discussions of almost any topic are superior to those in other encyclopedias. Some account of military history belongs to the description of a country's civilization, but is missing here. A map as end paper would be especially serviceable.

HARRIET P. LATTIN

THE LAND OF PRESTER JOHN: A CHRONICLE OF PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION. By *Elaine Sanceau*, Corresponding Member of the Instituto de Coimbra. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. xi, 243, \$2.75.) This book is a story of the "strange fruitless adventure of Portugal in search of Prester John," the mythical Christian

ruler of medieval lore. The Portuguese felt his aid would be invaluable in fighting the infidel and in discovering a route to India. Instead they found the Christian ruler of Abyssinia, with whom, after several fruitless attempts, they finally established friendly relations between 1514 and 1521. The few Portuguese who reached his land endured untold hardships and witnessed strange customs and mysteries, which are vividly described. That the emperor proved unable to co-operate in their design for a great empire in the East failed to diminish their respect and affection for his country. A small band of Portuguese soldiers voluntarily sacrificed themselves in fighting against great odds to help preserve Abyssinian independence from Moslem conquest. These cordial relations were broken in 1634 as a result of a religious controversy. Jesuit missionaries sent out by Portugal aroused antagonism when they tried to induce the Abyssinian Christians to conform to Roman Catholic doctrines. Unfortunately the main title of the book is misleading because the Portuguese failed to unravel one of the puzzles of history, the true identity of Prester John. In describing their search for him the author has not only written an interesting, well-authenticated tale of adventure but has emphasized the crusading and religious aspect of Portuguese imperialism. Further light is shed upon the inherent weakness of Portugal as an imperialist power in the description of the great Albuquerque's ambitious plan for co-operation between his country and Abyssinia in establishing Christian supremacy over large areas touching the Red Sea. Nothing came of this scheme because Portugal apparently had insufficient strength to meet all her commitments in the East, and Abyssinia was but a primitive and backward country. There is no attempt to present a well-balanced treatment of Portuguese expansion. As the subtitle implies, the book develops mainly into an account of exploration in Abyssinia and of its consequences. As for any permanent effects upon the two countries, the quest for Prester John is "one of the blind alleys of history, for it does not seem to have led anywhere."

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

COLONIAL POLICIES IN AFRICA. By *H. A. Wieschhoff*. [African Handbooks: 5.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, University Museum, 1944, pp. 138, \$1.50.) The series of "African Handbooks" edited by Dr. H. A. Wieschhoff gives one reliable information on Africa in handy, readable, and thoroughly scholarly form. In this particular pamphlet the editor has turned author. The work is outstanding. Three tables give the reader essential data on all parts of Africa: year of acquisition, area and population statistics, invested capital, and the present relationship with the mother country. The possessions of all European countries come in for consideration, the British dependencies getting the larger share of the treatment and the recent Italian colonies getting so little as to be virtually neglected. The author's point of view is critical but constructive, and anything but doctrinaire. While he makes it clear that land, labor, and educational policies fall short of official statements of principles and goals, he does not commit the all-too-common error of concluding that officials are hypocritical and that the colonies should be given their freedom. He does suggest, however, that necessary reforms are being made too slowly. The most serious problems, he finds, are in those areas—the Union of South Africa, Kenya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunis—where European minorities are seeking to make their interests dominant over the native. Britain, by granting dominion status, colonial autonomy, or even indirect rule, has deprived herself of the right to intervene in behalf of the native, whether oppressed by the white man or by his own chief. Hence the paradox that the worst problems exist in the dependencies of a country that has at home the most enlightened interest in native welfare.

HARRY R. RUDIN

THE GREAT GLORY AND GLAMOR OF THE DODECANESE. By *David Moore Robinson*, the Johns Hopkins University. (New York, published by the Dodecanesian National Council, 1944, pp. 30.) An excellent description of the past and present of the Dodecanese with attractive illustrations. The plea for the return of the islands to Greece in no way colors the soundness of the historical pages.

LATVIA UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1941-1943. With a Preface by *Dr. Alfred Bilmanis*, Minister of Latvia to the United States. (Washington, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation, 1943, pp. xii, 114.)

THE BALTIC STATES IN POST-WAR EUROPE. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (Washington, published by the Latvian Legation, 1944, pp. 45.)

LATVIAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS: DOCUMENTS. Compiled by *Dr. Alfred Bilmanis*. (Washington, published by the Latvian Legation, 1944, pp. 255.)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK. Volume 46, 5705, SEPTEMBER 18, 1944, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1945. Edited by *Harry Schneiderman* for the American Jewish Committee. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944, pp. xxx, 620, \$3.00.) This volume follows the pattern of previous volumes. Their general character was indicated in the notice of Volume 43 in the *American Historical Review*, XLVII (July, 1942), 922.

WAR, PEACE, AND NONRESISTANCE. By *Guy Franklin Hershberger*, Professor of History and Sociology, Goshen College. (Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1944, pp. xv, 415, \$2.50.) A very thorough and uncompromising presentation of the nonresistant and pacifist principles and polity of the Mennonites in both domestic (labor) and international conflict. There is an introductory historical survey of the Mennonites here and in various European countries.

AN INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO THE PEACE. Edited by *Sumner Welles*. (New York, Dryden Press, 1945, pp. 376, \$3.75.) "Over eighty nations, all of which will have a part in the coming peace, are described under the secondary headings of 'The Land and Its People,' 'The Nation's Economy,' 'History,' and 'Stakes in the Peace.' Maps, prepared from those which have appeared in *PM*, illustrate most of the countries described." The volume is essentially a work of reference and not, as the title indicates, a discussion of policy.

THE AMERICAN STORY: TEN BROADCASTS. By *Archibald MacLeish*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. 243, \$2.00.) "Ten dramatic episodes of the early history of the Americas, first presented on the radio program, 'University of the Air.'"

AMERICA AND THE AMERICAS: AN APPRAISAL AND A FORECAST. By *Hubert Herring*. Foreword by E. Wilson Lyon. (Claremont, Claremont Colleges, 1944, pp. vii, 84, \$2.00.)

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS, 1942. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. iv, 155.)

LOCAL HISTORY: HOW TO GATHER IT, WRITE IT, AND PUBLISH IT. By *Donald Dean Parker*, Head of the Department of History and Political Science, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Revised and edited by *Bertha E. Josephson* for the Committee on Guide for Study of Local History of the Social Science Research Council. (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1944, pp. xiv,

186, \$1.00.) This guide is designed for historians by avocation to enlist their talents in writing effective local history as a contribution to the social sciences. It should also be valuable to professional scholars as a check upon the adequacy of sources and to students as a historiographical text. Its excellence is due to additions and constructive criticism of Mr. Parker's original manuscript by the sponsoring committee and to the editorship of Miss Josephson. The section on gathering history discusses printed sources available in the average community, the technique of interviews, and the use of private manuscripts, newspapers, periodicals, and public, business, and religious records. Included in the section on writing are suggestions for composition and a model outline for a local history, while the section on publishing evaluates printing and types of processed reproduction and co-operative writing. A suggestive outline for a war history of a community forms an appendix. Throughout, the intelligence of the reader is presupposed, but there is no hesitation in explaining pertinent details. The value of this guide is such that one hopes it will serve as the basis for further editions. Like sources might be compared, such as published directories, census records, cemetery inscriptions, and tax lists; and the use of business records for a history of the locality might be illustrated as well as for the business. Details also should be corrected. Complete service records of known Revolutionary soldiers in most communities cannot be compiled from DAR lineage books, and the published 1790 census is extraordinarily accurate, most mistakes being made by the original census taker in gathering his data rather than in printing. It should also be pointed out that later census records and newspapers tend to be inaccurate in details which should be confirmed wherever possible. Some additional tools and sources also might be included in another edition, such as the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress, depository catalogues, the American Imprints Inventory, Isadore Mudge's *Guide to Reference Books*, church missionary records and portions of the national governmental records.

DAVID C. DUNIWAY

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By *Bertha L. Heilbron*, Assistant Editor, Minnesota Historical Society. [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 9.] (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1944, pp. 227-56.)

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: A HANDBOOK. Compiled and edited by *Christopher Crittenden*, Editor, and *Doris Godard*, Editorial Associate. (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1944, pp. xi, 261.) The editor has followed the vogue of the questionnaire. The result is a new list of names and addresses of societies with dates of organization, names of presidents and secretaries, sizes of staffs, membership, dues, annual incomes, days and hours open, brief statements on library, museum, and copying facilities, publications, and activities. In the foreword the editor treats his list as a census, and so we may regard it. He laments that the forms which were returned contained "a disappointingly small amount of information . . . regarding important archival and manuscript holdings, chief museum collections, and the like." For many societies which did not respond he made two-line entries (e.g., "Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.") in supplementary lists. Yet he wasted much effort and space in text and index (forty-three pages) by repeating questionnaire headings, names of officials (see "John Jump"), "Association," "Historical Society," etc., and omitted "Diaries," "Documents," "Manuscripts," "Negro." One finds no bibliography of such union lists as those of the Karl Brown series edited by Winifred Gregory or mention of the "List of Periodicals and Society Publications," in Griffin's *Writings on American History*, or of the works of the Historical

Records Survey, and no information about the catalogues, descriptions, lists, and indexes published and unpublished of society holdings. Apparently the American Association for State and Local History has missed an opportunity to make progress towards a long-desired, much needed union list of manuscript collections.

THOMAS P. MARTIN

## ARTICLES

- JACQUES BARZUN. History as a Liberal Art. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.  
 RUSHTON COULTON. The Meaning of History. *Ethics*, Oct.  
 N. D. HARPER. Some Historical Aspects of Race and Culture Contact. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Oct.  
 N. E. LEE. History and Educational Reform. *Ibid.*  
 EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. The Concepts "Classic" and "Romantic." *Germanic Rev.*, Oct.  
 SISTER EUGENE MARIE. The Quebec Act Leads to Catholic Emancipation in English-speaking Countries. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Sept.  
 G. N. CLARK. The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, 1944.  
 RUTH BOURNE. The Exchange of Prisoners in the West Indies in Queen Anne's War. *Proc. South Carolina Hist. Assoc.*, 1944.  
 PHILIP P. WIENER. Chauncey Wright's Defense of Darwin and the Neutrality of Science. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.  
 CLARENCE A. HERBST. Belgian Elections of 1884. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan.  
 LUELLA J. HALL. A Partnership in Peacemaking: Theodore Roosevelt and Wilhelm II. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Dec.  
 N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN. Some Phases of United States-Norwegian Relations in World War I: A Study in Diplomacy. *Historian*, Autumn.  
 JOSEPH T. DURKIN. American Diplomatic Opinion on Italian Unification. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.  
 CORNELIUS KRAHN. The Historiography of the Mennonites in the Netherlands. *Church Hist.*, Sept., *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Oct.  
 ALBERT HYMA. Recent Literature on the Netherlands. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.  
 ANDRÉ GÉRARD [PERTINAX]. Diplomacy Old and New. *For. Affairs*, Jan.  
 HAROLD S. QUIGLEY. Sovereign Man or Sovereign State? *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Winter.

Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

THE MILITARY INSTITUTIONS OF THE ROMANS. By *Flavius Vegetius Renatus*. Translated from the Latin by *Lieutenant John Clark*. Edited by *Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips*. [Military Classics.] (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1944, pp. 114, \$1.00.) "A newly edited version of the translation which was first published in England in 1767."

LIFE AND TIMES AS REVEALED IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. JEROME EXCLUSIVE OF HIS LETTERS. A dissertation by *Sister M. Jamesetta Kelly*, Sisters of St. Dominic, St. Catharine, Kentucky. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXX.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xv, 173.) The preface remarks that though the *Letters* have been fully examined already for evidence upon Jerome's times the remaining works contain much valuable but scattered material. In the conclusion, however, the author admits that "we cannot say, except in two or three instances, that there are phases of life in the fourth and

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

fifth centuries about which we would [*sic*] be totally ignorant if Jerome had not mentioned them." This exclusion of the *Letters* seems unfortunate, since they often parallel most interestingly matters here discussed; *e.g.*, compare the methods of teaching children (p. 50, n. 84) with *Ep.* 107, 4, 2, and its source in Quintil. 1, 1, 26. Again, no use is made of Jerome's homilies (published by Dom Morin in vol. 3 of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*), from which many pertinent illustrations might have been drawn. The four chapters deal with economic and professional life—to which Jerome contributes little information—social life, public life, and religious life; and all statements in the text are supported by the Latin text in footnotes. Translations are not, however, at all points accurate; *e.g.*, *aperire signacula* (p. 51) is hardly "interpret the signs," but rather "open the seals." The English style, monotonous with its oft repeated "St. Jerome says," is at times infelicitous (*e.g.*, p. 12: "fourth century A.D."; p. 32: "the Roman world has been beset upon"; p. 88: "which when the news had been spread . . . more than ten thousand . . . were gathered together to retain him), and scarcity of data makes some sections very heterogeneous in character (*e.g.*, pp. 153–54). Wrong or inexact references (*e.g.*, p. 57, n. 117; p. 58, n. 118), misprints (*e.g.*, pp. 40, 52, 53, 142, 144), a verse quotation so changed in word order as to be unmetrical (p. 82), and constant allusion to St. Hilarion as "St. Hilary" indicate lack of due verification and revision. The expression "Mother of God" (p. 57) seems to ascribe to Jerome a phrase not used by him in the passage in question, if, indeed, anywhere. Though the bibliography is reasonably full one misses the essential though exasperatingly incomplete work of E. Luebeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (1872), which would have greatly enriched pages 60–61, on Jerome's knowledge of pagan authors; on his allusions to Christian writers (pp. 65–68) I look in vain for any reference to his *De Viris illustribus*. On stenography (pp. 24–26) reference may now be made to K. K. Hulley in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 54 (1943), 89–91; and on forms of books *ibid.*, 83–88. The summary (pp. 155–63) repeats illustrations but draws no significant generalizations. This reviewer feels, then, that collection of materials from a wider range, more careful appraisal of those collected, more felicitous expression, and more accurate revision are needed to secure an adequate picture of what Jerome has to tell of the life of his time.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

- JOHN A. WILSON. Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.  
 WILLIAM and GEORGINA BUCKLER. The Bearing of Inscriptions on Classical Literature. *Class. Jour.*, Dec.  
 A. W. GOMME. Athenian Notes. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.  
 J. JACOBY. ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. A Forgotten Festival of the Dead. *Class. Quar.*, July.  
 J. G. MILNE. An Exchange-Currency of Magna Graecia. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 CATHERINE SAUNDERS. The Nature of Rome's Early Appraisal of Greek Culture. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.  
 J. G. MILNE. *Bigati*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 A. H. McDONALD. Rome and the Italian Confederation (200–186 B.C.). *Ibid.*  
 H. J. ROSE. The Pre-Caesarian Calendar. *Class. Jour.*, Nov.  
 R. SYME. On Gelzer, *Caesar der Politiker und Staatsman*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE. Geographical Factors in Roman Algeria. *Ibid.*  
 A. MOMIGLIANO. On *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X. *Ibid.*  
 HUGH LAST. The Fiscus. A Note. *Ibid.*  
 JOSEPH WARD SWAIN. Gamaliel's Speech and Caligula's Statue. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.  
 F. W. BEARE. Note on Paul's First Two Visits to Jerusalem. *Jour. Biblical Lit.*, Dec.  
 I. A. RICHMOND. Gnaeus Julius Agricola. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 HERBERT BLOCH. *Consules Suffecti* on Roman Brick Stamps. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.



- DAVID DAUBE. On Duff, *Personality in Roman Private Law*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 F. PRINGSHEIM. The Unique Character of Roman Classical Law. *Ibid.*  
 DORO LEVI. Aion. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 NORMAN H. BAYNES. On Setton, *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.  
 O. DAVIES. The Date of the Golden Gate at Istanbul. *Ibid.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- TSONGJING N. SHIAH. The Date of Certain Egyptian Stratified Eye-Beads of Glass. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 The Archaeological Adviser, the War Office. The War and Classical Remains in Italy. *Antiquity*, Dec.  
 J. M. T. CHARLTON. New Black-Figure Vases. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 DOROTHY KENT HILL. Hera, the Sphinx. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Two Greek Statues. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.  
 STERLING DOW. A Fragment of a Colossal Acrolithic Statue in the Conservatori. *Ibid.*  
 DOROTHY KENT HILL. Some Late Antique Portraits. *Ibid.*  
 ROBERT SCRANTON. Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 Roman Britain in 1943. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.

LITERARY, INSCRIPTIONAL, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND NUMISMATIC SOURCES

- W. F. ALBRIGHT. The End of "Calneh in Shinar." *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.  
 A. S. YAHUDA. The Story of a Forgery and the Mēša Inscription. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct.  
 ANGELO SEGRÉ. The Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: New Light from the Papyri. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Oct.  
 ROLAND G. KENT. Old Persian Texts. V. Darius' Behistan Inscription. Column V: A Correction. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.  
 H. T. WADE-GERY. The Spartan Rhētra in Plutarch, *Lycurgus VI*. C. What is the *Rhētra*? *Class. Quar.*, July.  
 A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Note on *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 945. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 F. M. HEICHELHEIM. On Athenaeus XIV, 639e-640a. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.  
*Id.* Numismatic Comments. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 F. W. WALBANK. Alcaeus of Messene, Philip V, and Rome: A Footnote. *Class. Quar.*, July.  
 R. E. SMITH. The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Titus Flamininus. *Ibid.*  
 CAMPBELL BONNER. The Philinna Papyrus and the Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini. *Hesperia*, Oct.  
 RAYMOND A. BOWMAN. An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.  
 JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE. Greek Imperial Medallions. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.

## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, 1640-1800. By Ernest Jones. [University of California Publications in English, Volume V, No. 3.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. 357-442, \$1.00.) This study of the reputation between 1640 and 1800 of one of the most engaging of the chroniclers contains useful material for the student of historiography. The quotations from seventeenth and eighteenth century historians provide an abundance of illustrations of habits of the guild: acceptance of traditional judgments, desire to prove a thesis, conformity with prevailing patterns of thought. Dr. Jones opens his detailed investigation with the judgments of Sir Henry Spelman, Archbishop Ussher, and William Somner, all of whom thought that much of the chronicle was fabulous, but that it contained a core of truth. Other seventeenth



century writers, in view of the dearth of material for early British history, followed this opinion, registering different degrees of credence and skepticism. Writers engaged in the ecclesiastical controversies of the century, or in the efforts to find ancient origins for English law, were swayed one way or another according to the importance for their arguments of Geoffrey's testimony. The tendency of the eighteenth century was toward greater skepticism, a natural result of the growth of rationalism and anticlericalism. As the century progressed, the school that valued history according to the lessons it had to teach lost interest in Geoffrey altogether. In the whole period it is interesting to note how few were the serious attempts to appraise his sources. Whether he wrote or translated the mysterious document from which he claimed to have drawn his facts was a question frequently raised, but its existence was usually assumed. The work closes with an account of the way that the decline of Geoffrey's reputation as a historian was accompanied by his corresponding rise as a source of literary material. This is a careful and well-documented piece of work. As is often the case with a doctoral dissertation, some of the most interesting material is in the notes. One feels that a bibliography of more than three hundred items would have greater usefulness if classified in some way. Among the items appears, surprisingly, that once popular character, Anon.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN

CHURCH HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF THE SAINTS. By *Joseph A. Dunney*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. vi, 465, \$2.75.) Father Dunney has written effectively for the lay mind, hardly for that which looks for some depth of thought and accuracy of treatment. Since there is no preface to the book, fault may not be found with the author's selection of saints, apparently one in some way typical of the life of the church in each of the centuries. Historically more important figures often are noted in connection with the subject of their period. There is no Slavic saint like Vicedin or Stanislaus and, if the various phases of church history are considered, none to represent the arts. Ansgar and Bernard of Menthon are welcome along with Rose of Lima and the Jesuit Jogues. Legend and fact crowd one another to make up the bulk of the very well written chapters. Unfortunately the facts often are not accurately stated or evaluated. Granted that the Romans pursued the early Christians most cruelly, could not the thinking of the persecutors have been presented? May Anthony be called the "founder" even of Christian monasticism, or Bernard of Clairvaux the "father of western mysticism"? Was Columbanus the most impressive scholar of Merovingian times? Did Emperor Otto I help the pope because he lusted for power? The Normans and particularly the tribes of the migration period are generally confused. Did the Saracens lay siege to Hippo in 430 and Attila reach the gates of Rome in 451? Is Islamism "nothing but Judaism adapted to Arabia"? Bede has been canonized. Belgium as a state was nonexistent in the time of Louis XIV. Frederick the Great took Silesia, not Silicia. Some misprints may be noted: Suplicius (p. 78), St. Gaul (p. 121), Ulrecht (p. 142), Agapitus (p. 201), Helvitius (p. 367), Robinson, *Readings*, 21 vols. (p. 453). Several worth-while items do not appear in the reference lists at the end of the volume, e.g., Grabmann's *Thomas Aquinas*, translated by V. Michel.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND, FROM 1086 TO 1513. By *Edmund Curtis*. [Enlarged edition.] (Forest Hills, N. Y., Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 468, \$5.00.)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. By *Hans Meyer*. Translated by *Frederic Eckhoff*. (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1944, pp. 589, \$5.00.)

THE CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE CABALA IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Joseph Leon Blau*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. viii,

167, \$2.25.) The lure of mystery is perennial, for man's life on our tiny planet, floating in a boundless universe, is environed with mystery. Allegory, to this day a backlog for preachers, is a relatively simple and still largely unsystematic device for piercing the veil of words and revealing hidden "truths." The cabala, reduced in large part to writing in the thirteenth century—the century which also saw the development of Christian mysticism—was an elaborate and complicated series of rules for finding the "truths" concealed behind the literal words of the Old Testament. God had written this holy book; but He had also, in His inscrutable wisdom, communicated to Adam—and he in turn by oral transmission to his chosen heirs, and they to theirs, throughout the ages—a key, or rather a bunch of keys, for unlocking the secret "truths" which lay behind the sacred text. The cabala was more than a series of rules; more properly it was the esoteric "truths" discovered by the rules. These confirmed the Jewish faith. The Christian cabalists undertook to show that they really confirmed Christianity. Mr. Blau's slender volume explains the manipulation of the rules and their use by the Christian apologists, notably by Pico and Reuchlin, and sketches the reception of their views in the learned centers of western Europe. The bibliography he appends is formidable. The belief in the cabala has evaporated. Other theosophies still attempt to run the gauntlet of modern science. The investigation of the origins and development of the cabala remains as an intriguing and, let us hope, profitable field in cultural pathology. Mr. Blau's book is a succinct and competent study in this field.

G. C. SELLERY

LEONARDO DA VINCI: HIS LIFE AND HIS PICTURES. By *R. Langton Douglas*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 127, plates, \$4.00.) This new book on the "Hamlet of art history" is the fine distillation of a lifetime of connoisseurship in the field of Italian Renaissance painting. It is primarily a work of art criticism, not a biography, although the first three chapters constitute an admirable brief summary of Leonardo's life. Perhaps the greatest interest of the book for the historian is its revelation of the changing tides of interpretation and taste. It runs completely counter to the romantic tradition of Leonardo which we have inherited from the nineteenth century, at the same time avoiding the imaginative fantasies of some recent psychological biographers of that artist. This book belongs to the technical and realistic current in modern art criticism. To Mr. Douglas, Mona Lisa is neither the mysterious being described by Walter Pater and his disciples nor a beautiful woman viewed by a homosexual artist who finds her beauty vaguely repulsive. She is simply a woman of the High Renaissance, sophisticated, disillusioned, and rather cynical. The smile which the artist coaxed to her lips was a stock property in Verrocchio's studio, where Leonardo served his apprenticeship; under Leonardo's hand it was treated with infinite subtlety. In this analysis the painting loses none of its stature as a masterpiece; it merely ceases to be a symbol of the mysteries of the universe or a key to the secret depths of the artist's personality. While dismantling the altars of several popular idols such as "The Last Supper," Mr. Douglas does full justice to some of Leonardo's less known works and makes a number of new attributions. Of considerable historical as well as technical interest is his discussion of the portrait of Beatrice d'Este. In the author's final estimate, Leonardo emerges as a superman but not as one of the world's greatest painters. He produced few pictures of the highest caliber; of his important paintings, only one, "The Virgin of the Rocks," was ever finished. He was one of the world's master draftsmen, but Mr. Douglas will not on that account rank him as an artist with Michelangelo and Rembrandt, Titian and Tintoretto. This estimate is in accord with the present-day revaluation of Leonardo's genius. As Leonardo the thinker, inventor, and scientist has

come to the fore, Leonardo the artist has receded. Leonardo was great in the universality of his genius, in the restless intellect that probed incessantly into the arcana of the natural world. Therefore any book on the painting of Leonardo necessarily leaves his true greatness unexplained.

CATHERINE E. BOYD

ERASME, PRINCE DES HUMANISTES. By *Berthe Delepinne*. [Collection "Épopées, récits et légendes de Belgique."] (Wemmel-Brussels, Les Éditions Draps, 1944, pp. 131.) This little book, for junior college readers, packs much into its small compass. Written in inspirational style, it is marked by a series of word pictures that reveal the author's imagination, appreciation of the great subject, and obvious prejudice for the glories of the ancient low countries. The author finds the key to Erasmus' life in the circumstances of his birth and in the frailty of his body, which led him to shun the busy world and to take shelter in the cloistered security of a monastery. The monastic life, during which "Erasmus, buried in study, worked patiently to develop himself, just as the chrysalis buried in its silken cocoon works during the winter in anticipation of the brilliant metamorphosis of the springtime," supplied the two additional controls: priestly education and study culminating in writing. All the high points of a great and complex career are fairly set forth. The trips to England and France, the growing reputation, the princely favor, the visit to Italy, the writing of the works which served to mark the way—*Handbook of a Christian Soldier*, *Adages*, *Praise of Folly*, *New Testament*, *Colloquies*, *Free Will*—the insistence upon personal freedom, the final weariness of a sick body and a tired heart are all there. One chapter is devoted to the six-month sojourn at Anderlecht, a disproportionate treatment both understandable and charming. The chapter devoted to the controversy with Luther is handled well in broad outline. The pettiness of Erasmus' petulance is suggested but not commented upon. The refusal of Erasmus to become embroiled in public issues, his apparent failure to appreciate the art and expanding greatness of the world about him and to appreciate the beauties of nature are all mentioned, but never in sharp criticism. Erasmus was so interested in the past, so devoted to humanizing religion, so engrossed in writing that he had no time to see, hear, or write about anything else. There is much to be said for that point of view. One feels the strength and singleness of purpose of Erasmus. Good use is made of the portraits by Quentin Metsys, Dürer, and Holbein. These last obviously inspired the cover portrait and the illustrations. A list of twelve suggested readings, all recent and all—except for Huizinga's *Erasmus*—in French, concludes the volume.

LESTER K. BORN

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## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE ENGLISHMAN AND HIS HISTORY. By H. Butterfield. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. vii, 142, \$1.25.) *The Englishman and His History* is one of a series of volumes on "Current Problems," edited by Sir Ernest Barker. It begins with a study in historiography and ends with a defense of English conservatism. In Part I Professor Butterfield shows how Englishmen misinterpreted medieval history in their search for precedents to use against the Stuart monarchy; and he concludes that the "whig interpretation of history" which resulted was a great contribution, not to historiography, but to the growth of the "English tradition" with its emphasis on the continuity of the nation's history. In Part II, on "The Political Tradition," Professor Butterfield explains why Englishmen have been such superb political craftsmen; how it is that they have been able to win for England all the blessings of modern liberty with none of its curses: with no violent revolution, no bitter warfare between classes, no struggle between religious and anticlerical extremists which marked the history of other nations such as France. He concludes that this happy issue was due to the innate moderation of the English governing class, which by eschewing die-hard conservatism on the one hand and doctrinaire liberalism on the other, ended by doing what was best for England. *The Englishman and His History* is really a sequel to Professor Butterfield's essay on *The Whig Interpretation of History*, written a dozen years ago. In the earlier work Professor Butterfield has nothing but criticism for that "whig interpretation" which he celebrates as part of the "English tradition" in the later book; yet there is a real continuity between the two essays. In *The Whig Interpretation* he argued that religious freedom did not result, as the Whig historians claimed, from the successful efforts of the great Protestant reformers—who, contrary to "whig" history, were opposed to any such concept—but was rather the contribution of the next generation, which felt that social peace was more important than unity of church and state. In *The Englishman and His History* he seems to be suggesting, in similar fashion, that English liberty has been due, not to those who have fought for the reforms since incorporated in the Constitution and in English life, but to a governing class, which having won its liberties in an earlier day, acted in the belief that social stability at the price of a modicum of reform was preferable to open conflict with other segments of society. With his interpretation of the development of religious toleration many historians will agree; but the thesis implicit in his later book involves some curious revisions: Wellington, rather than the tailor Place, becomes the hero of the First Reform Bill; and the ultra-respectable and timid "Junta" becomes the hero of the British labor movement—to the astonishment of this reviewer. Professor Butterfield is entitled to his thesis, but one is entitled, also, to question whether this interpretation of the "English tradition" is one which would be gladly accepted by the majority of Englishmen now fighting to uphold it.

ROBERT WALCOTT, JR.

ST. ANDREWS FORMULARE, 1514-1546. Edited by Gordon Donaldson, with Prefatory Note by David Baird Smith. Volume II. [The Stair Society.] (Edinburgh, printed for the Stair Society by J. Skinner, 1944, pp. xix, 411.) The second half of the *St. Andrews Formulare* presented in this volume is an important addition to the printed sources of the social and legal history of pre-Reformation Scotland. It is of

particular interest because most of this volume's documents deal with the activities of Cardinal David Beaton, murdered in 1546. John Lauder, the author of the *Formulare* was one of the cardinal's right hand men and has preserved some three hundred notarial documents for the period during which Beaton dominated the Scottish scene. The prime interest of the work is, of course, legal, as it reveals much concerning the law of Scotland as well as the work of Lauder himself. At the same time, however, we find a very considerable amount of material dealing with other subjects of even greater general interest. Probably the most valuable part of the *Formulare* is the light which it throws upon the condition of the Scottish church before "the deluge" of 1560. Considerable information is forthcoming regarding the sad condition of ecclesiastical discipline, revealing the low ebb to which ecclesiastical morals had come. Along with that there are a number of documents dealing with the economic position of the church and the conflicts it was having with various predatory nobles. Last but not least, the documents also show the prevalence of heresy and the church's vain efforts to stamp it out. From the Lowlands to the northern part of Rosshire the new doctrine was working, while the church, especially Lauder, fought it with all the weapons at its disposal. While the "Person and Place" index is no doubt valuable, it is too bad that a subject index was not also included.

W. STANFORD REID

MINUTES OF THE SYNOD OF ARGYLL, 1652-1661. Edited by *Duncan C. MacTavish*, with an Introduction by *James D. Ogilvie*. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXXVIII.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1944, pp. xxxii, 278, 8, 18, 12.) The present volume is the second part of the minutes of the synod of Argyll and brings them to a close. While much of the material is like that of Volume I (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX [April, 1944], 529), there are also new problems continually appearing before the synod. For one thing, the important question of translating the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism into Gaelic receives much attention in the present volume. More important to the secular historian, however, are matters relating to the political, social, and economic affairs of this West Highland synod. We find numerous references to the ill-fated marquis of Argyll as well as to the abortive rebellion of Montrose. The synod reveals itself as extremely anti-Stewart in political affairs. It also showed itself very much inclined to expect the civil authorities to lend their weight to the application of ecclesiastical discipline at times, perhaps in return for political support. Other matters, such as the moral condition of the country and the economic problems of both clergy and lairds, also receive considerable attention. The minutes thus form a useful collection of documents relating to the West Highlands during the Commonwealth period.

W. STANFORD REID

TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS BY RICHARD STEELE. Edited with Notes and Commentary by *Rae Blanchard*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. xvii, 663, \$5.50.) Richard Steele was so actively engaged in public affairs that a complete account of his interests and activities would go far towards constituting a history of the period. In a sense he was a literary figure only by accident, as indeed most of the Queen Anne prosemen were. A practical purpose informs everything he wrote; his comedies and essays are set apart only by virtue of a superior literary merit. Unfortunately, students who have wished to get a complete picture of the man and his work have found it very difficult to obtain the necessary material. Miss Blanchard began to supply this need by editing *The Christian Hero* in 1932, and has since added *The Correspondence*, in 1941. The present volume contains the thirty-one pamphlets known to have been written by Steele, including for the sake of completeness *The Christian Hero*. Of the many others attributed to him, those which have some claim to con-



sideration are listed in an appendix. Not many of these pieces do credit to Steele's literary powers. Between his best and his worst there is a much wider gap than exists in the prose of Addison, Defoe, or Swift. In their writing there is always a characteristic touch, even in compositions thrown off in a hurry, as many of Swift's were and most of Defoe's had to be. Apparently Steele wrote well only under compulsion. When off guard he was capable of unconscionable dullness and tedious repetition. But there is compensation in the number and variety of his topics, which range in interest from his "fish-pond" through politics to ethics and theology. A Whig of the Whigs, a passionate defender of parliamentary rights, and the Established Church, Steele was led into more than one costly indiscretion, notably his controversy with Swift; but this at least can be said for him, that he usually acted upon sincere conviction and was more consistent and more honest in his political conduct than most of his contemporaries.

C. A. MOORE

THE HOUSE OF DE LA POMERAI: THE ANNALS OF THE FAMILY, WHICH WAS, FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1548, SEATED AT BERRI (BERRY POMEROY), IN DEVONSHIRE, AND, FROM *c.* 1620 TO 1719, RESIDENT AT SANDRIDGE IN STOKE GABRIEL, IN THAT COUNTY: THE STATUS OF THE LORDS OF BERRI: THEIR CASTLE HOME, TOGETHER WITH MANY NOTICES OF SCIONS OF THE HOUSE AND OF OTHER BEARERS OF THE DE LA POMERAI (POMEROY) NAME. WITH APPENDIX: 1720 ONWARDS. By *Edward B. Powley*, Master in Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby. (Liverpool, University Press of Liverpool; London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1944, pp. xxiii, 134.)

A DESCRIPTION OF BLACKPOOL IN LANCASHIRE, FREQUENTED FOR SEABATHING, 1788. By *William Hutton*. Edited by *R. Sharpe France*. (Liverpool, published for the Fylde Historical Society by the University Press of Liverpool, 1944, pp. 32, 2s. 6d.)

THE WARNING DRUM: THE BRITISH HOME FRONT FACES NAPOLEON: BROADSIDES OF 1803. Edited by *Frank J. Klingberg* and *Sigurd B. Hustvedt*. [Publications of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. vii, 287, \$4.00.) The original documents in this collection, with their imaginable yellow patches, may lure some antiquarians to the library of the University of California at Los Angeles. Reprinted in the present volume, they may also claim the interest of students of history, both as examples of the use of the broadside and as a mirror of the British mood during the fateful year 1803, when Britain was expecting invasion from Napoleon. Perhaps, indeed, one should say, "moods," for some of these pieces, stressing the gravity of the crisis, exhort the nation to the utmost effort, while others—in fact, the majority—bespeak a confidence in the outcome in no uncertain terms. Recalling Britain's peril in 1940, one hardly needs to point out that such a publication is timely, and some conclusions may be reached by comparing the more mature and restrained expressions of British opinion in 1940 with these somewhat juvenile outpourings of 1803. In the matter of comparative "monsters" Hitler hardly seems to measure up to Napoleon, though without a more thorough canvass of present-day Londoners one cannot, of course, be sure! These broadsides make up a book that one may glance through with amusement and thereby also gain a profitable impression, but to read it all verbatim is to inflict on oneself some very dreary hours. The volume is attractive in format and capably edited, with an introduction and elaborate and interesting notes.

T. W. RIKER



LETTERS OF THOMAS J. WISE TO JOHN HENRY WRENN: A FURTHER INQUIRY INTO THE GUILT OF CERTAIN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FORGERS. Edited by *Fannie E. Ratchford*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 621, \$7.50.) "Thomas James Wise was an eminent nineteenth century bibliographer and book collector who was implicated as a forger of rare first editions by the publication in 1934 of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*. He is further proved guilty, along with two other English men of letters, by the publication of his correspondence with John Henry Wrenn of America, whom he helped in building a rare first edition collection now at the University of Texas, a collection interlarded with proved Wise forgeries."

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. By *J. F. S. Ross*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, pp. vi, 245, \$3.00.) This book is the result of a meticulous ten-year effort to discover if England is a democracy, whether Parliament was really a mirror of the nation during the interwar period. On the basis of an elaborate statistical analysis, Mr. Ross proves that the House of Commons was not a microcosm of the British community in respect either of the age, education, occupation, or party affiliation of its members. It was largely recruited, he concludes, from the privileged classes whose economic and social advantages enable them to dominate the political life of the country. He finds a close correlation between politics and education, occupation, parentage, and financial means. Mr. Ross holds the influence of wealth, leisure, and the single-member majority system of voting primarily responsible for the unrepresentative character of Parliament. In order to make the Commons more representative of the country, the author recommends several financial and electoral reforms. He proposes to lighten the burden of election expenses by a grant-in-aid; to increase the salary and expense allowance paid to a member of Parliament; and to continue the salary of ex-members for a limited time. He would abolish the present single-member majority system of election and replace it by the method of the single transferable vote known as proportional representation. Mr. Ross argues persuasively that, under this reform, elections would be less clumsy and capricious, give more scope to and make better use of the common sense of the electorate, reflect more accurately the state of political feeling in the country, give a better balanced House of Commons, and promote a higher general standard of integrity, ability, and zeal among candidates and members. As subsidiary reforms, he suggests that every candidate be required to present verified credentials to the electorate, take a series of psychological intelligence and aptitude tests, have had previous legislative experience in local government, and have reached the age of thirty when nominated. There is much in this book of comparative interest to American political scientists and statisticians. It should stimulate a similar study of the composition of Congress, which might yield similar conclusions as to its representative character.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

A CONVERSATION WITH BRYCE. By *Gilbert Murray*. [The James Bryce Memorial Lecture, Somerville College, Oxford, Friday, 12 November 1943.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 45, 50 cents.)

FOUR GENERATIONS OF OUR ROYAL FAMILY. By *Angus Holden Holden*, 3d Baron. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 260, \$3.00.) "Sketches of the lives of members of the British royal families and their relatives from Queen Victoria to Edward VIII."

QUEBEC, HISTORIC SEAPORT. By *Mazo de la Roche*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1944, pp. xii, 212, \$3.50.) Miss de la Roche has produced a flamboyant and highly colored book but a poor history. She has all the tricks of the historical novel-

ist: the imaginative background, vividness at the expense of accuracy, a constant emphasis upon the spectacular and the romantic; but apparently she is lacking in the most valuable attribute of the historian, a critical judgment. She repeats the old stories whether they are true or not, and she adds some new errors that are all her own: the first mass in New France was said on June 24, 1615, by Father Denis Jamet on the island of Montreal and not, as she states, at Quebec (p. 39; see H. P. Biggar, *Works of Champlain*, III, 33-34); Ventadour was not in holy orders when he was viceroy of New France (p. 50); the Caëns were uncle and nephew not brothers, and it is very doubtful if they could fairly be called unscrupulous (p. 54); it cannot be assumed that France was "a land of small families" in the seventeenth century because it is so in the twentieth century (p. 76); Frontenac was not a "Compte" (p. 82), and he came to New France for the second time in 1689, not in 1672 (p. 99); Amherst was Sir Jeffery and not Sir Geoffrey (p. 123); Quebec in 1759 was not bombarded from the English camp on the Island of Orleans or from that at the Montmorency, over six miles away (p. 125); Etekemin should be Etchemin (p. 126); Wolfe's army did not have to pull themselves up steep cliffs to the Heights of Abraham (pp. 130-31); the church shown in the photograph opposite page 141 is the Basilica, not Notre Dame des Victoires; the Abbé Plessir should be Abbé Plessis, later bishop of Quebec (p. 151); Stanley was not England's prime minister in 1842-43 but secretary for war and colonies (p. 181); Montmagny did not succeed Frontenac as governor (p. 197). These may be small points, but they show the carelessness with which the book has been compiled. And Miss de la Roche is no more successful in conveying accurately the broader sweep of history: her book is laden with irrelevant excursions that have nothing to do with the city of Quebec; ignoring the incompetency of Vaudreuil and the essential importance of the English fleet at Quebec, she gives a lengthy and largely worthless account of the siege of 1759; and above all she takes no account of the growing importance of Montreal as a rival to Quebec and does not even mention the dredging of the ship channel up the St. Lawrence, which brought about Quebec's commercial ruin. For French Quebec Parkman did a much better job seventy years ago; for the 170 years of English rule Miss de la Roche's meager forty-four pages hardly merit comment.

E. R. ADAIR

MACKENZIE KING: A PORTRAIT SKETCH. By *Emil Ludwig*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 62, \$1.75.)

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## FRANCE

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A CATHEDRAL: THE LIVING STORY OF MAN'S MOST BEAUTIFUL CREATION, WITH GLIMPSES, THROUGH THE CENTURIES, OF THE PAGEANT THAT LED TO NOTRE DAME. By *Robert Gordon Anderson*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1944, pp. xii, 496, \$4.00.) To any one familiar with Henry Adams' classic *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, or Sartreil Prentice's *The*

*Heritage of the Cathedral*, this book will prove disappointing. It attempts to do for Notre Dame of Paris what Prentice does more broadly for "the cathedral," but lacks Prentice's understanding of the Middle Ages, his effective eclecticism, clarity, and charm. Mr. Anderson's account is more concerned with ancestry than biography. It is only in the sixteenth of thirty-one chapters that we are introduced to old Notre Dame, and in the twenty-sixth that the cornerstone of the present structure is laid. Evidently intended for the "general reader," the "pageant" portrays striking scenes enacted on or near the site of the cathedral (52 B.C.-1235 A.D.), and combines with these the evolution of doctrine, liturgy, vestments, music, and architecture—all that was ultimately symbolized in the great church of "Our Lady." Actually more pages are devoted to biographical sketches, effective but not always pertinent, of saints and bishops, emperors and popes, kings of France from Clovis to St. Louis, with imaginative reconstructions in the vein of the historical novel. Perhaps it is as such that the book should be read to be enjoyed. Although in one instance the author includes a point for "all who love accuracy with their history" (p. 163), ordinarily he does not distinguish between history and legend. He has spent considerable time in Paris and is at his best in his account of the city, the cathedral, and its builders, although entirely without benefit of maps or illustrations. Outside these fields an exaggerated Francophilism and lack of historical perspective lead to a number of slips, for instance, attributing to "France" twenty-eight hundred years of "race consciousness" (p. 8), pointedly distinguishing the Franks from the "Germans" (pp. 196, 205), and referring to a "citizenry of Paris" in Caesar's day (pp. 21, 23), to the edict of Milan "which like that of Nantes by Louis the Fourteenth, provided toleration" (p. 146), to Gregory the Great's being chosen by a conclave of cardinal electors (pp. 250-51), to the crusades as part of a "grudge fight" ("The Moslems had not forgiven Charles Martel or forgotten his hammer," p. 339), to Abelard "fresh from his father's farm" (p. 358), and to Philip Augustus recovering for a "consolidated France Eleanor's dowry, rich Aquitaine" (p. 424).

FAITH THOMPSON

LAMARTINE: L'HOMME ET SON OEUVRE. By *Louis Bertrand*, de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard [1940]; reprinted by Éditions Variétés de Montreal, 1944, pp. 284.) The author's avowed purpose in adding another to the many earlier studies of Lamartine is "to illuminate all that was human in that young god." The "human" story as M. Bertrand tells it, is an astonishing one, with many magnificent moments, but in sum rather ignoble and sad. The total impression does not differ greatly from that conveyed by such biographers as Doumic and Whitehouse. But this effectively presented analysis is more searching and more ruthless. Although profuse in tribute to Lamartine's native endowments, the unpremeditated art of his best lyric poems, his unstudied parliamentary eloquence, his political intuition, there is more contempt and pity than admiration in the book. Sharply underlined is the resemblance to Lucien de Rubempré in young Lamartine's pursuit of a lucrative place and an advantageous marriage; mercilessly exposed are his debasement of his poetic gift, his ineffable egoism, his callousness in personal relationships, his fantastic financial speculations, and above all, his lifelong passion for living *à la grand seigneur*, although his patrimony was not lordly, and his earning power never equal to his prodigality. There is compassion, but contempt also, in the description of the unremitting toil of his later years, the flood of hack work that poured from his facile pen, the proceeds therefrom disappearing in the insatiable maw of debt. Of his political ambitions, his role of "républicain improvisé" after 1843, his conviction that a "tempest" would bring him the opportunity to fulfill his divine mission, and of the part he played when the storm came, the treatment is a bit equivocal—as Lamartine's pur-

poses seem to have been. Certain of M. Bertrand's obiter dicta on foreign policy (apropos of what he considers Lamartine's intuitive sagacity in that field) seem intelligible only by reference to the date of the final chapter, November 15, 1939. It is unlikely that these passages will add to the reader's pleasure unless he be Anglophobe or *Pétainiste*.  
ELIZABETH P. BRUSH

THE MÉLINE TARIFF: FRENCH AGRICULTURE AND NATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICY. By *Eugene Owen Golob*, Instructor in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 506.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 266, \$3.25.) "This study tells the story of the agrarian campaign for protection prior to 1892 (the year of the Méline Tariff) against the background of French agricultural history in the nineteenth century, the depression of the 1880's, nationalist economic policy, the constitutional crisis of the early years of the Third Republic, co-operation in agriculture, and the Social Catholic movement. It concludes with an attempt to assess the effectiveness of agricultural protection in terms of prices of agricultural products and costs to the consumer."

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Gaudens Megaro

- TWILIGHT OF THE GLADIATORS: ITALY AND THE ITALIANS, 1939-1943.  
 By Frank Heller. Translated from the Swedish by Llewellyn Jones. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944, pp. 146, \$2.00.) Frank Heller, who is described by the publishers as a distinguished Swedish novelist, has written an extremely gossipy, impressionistic,



and superficial account of a dramatic period of Italian history. Like so many travelers who fall "inordinately in love with Italy at first sight, bewitched by her spiritual as well as by her sensual enchantments," he gives little evidence that he possesses the proper equipment for a work that would be worth reading by historians. Despite his opportunities to observe Italy and the Italians during the critical years 1939-1943, he gives us virtually no important information that could not be gathered together by a careful reading of the English and American press.

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## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN RUSSIA, 1772-1844. By *Isaac Levitats*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 505.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 300, \$3.50.) This is a timely publication. Jews and Jewish communities in Poland and the western borderlands of Russia are practically wiped out by German onslaught and by Nazi racial hatred and bestiality. What will survive will be broken existences and dim recollections of the formerly busy life of millions of eastern European Jews, poor in economic returns but rich in cultural pursuits. Jewish archives and historical records, never too well preserved, have also disappeared. Even the author has used manuscripts for his investigation already "destroyed together with the communities which harbored them." The hero of the book is the Kahal—a legal autonomous communal governing board which, thanks to the "government-delegated powers of taxation and recruiting, but chiefly through the force of immemorial traditions," had a firm grip on the members of the Jewish communities in tsarist Russia. The author's interest is more absorbed by the community as a juridical unit. As he admits himself, he is only to a lesser extent interested in the role and



position of the individual within the community. Dr. Levitats presents very ably the results of his protracted studies of the subject. He has done painstaking research. He has explored special literature and source materials in a great number of languages—Russian, Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish, English, German, and French. He has uncovered a mass of historical evidence which has enabled him to give a full, lively, and illuminating picture of the functioning and the gradual deterioration of the Kahal in the period between the date of Poland's first partition and the incorporation of numerous Jewish communities into the Russian state and 1844, the year of the final abolition of the Kahal. In 1772, the manifesto of Catherine the Great promised Jewish communities that they would "be left in the enjoyment of all the liberties with regard to their religion and property which they at present possess." But about seventy years later, Sir Moses Montefiore pointed out to Emperor Nicholas I "the injustice done to the Jews by turning over the communal functions and prerogatives of the Kahal to municipal institutions in which they were without proportionate representation." The historic Jewish autonomy and self-rule ceased to exist, and the religious and social discrimination against the Jews became even more conspicuous in the years to come. But simultaneously the Jewish opposition to the autocratic regime in Russia became also more accentuated. "The will of the Tsar," declared Rabbi Isaac of Volozhin, "is as holy, according to Jewish law, as the will of God, only if it applies equally to all inhabitants."

SERGIIUS YAKOBSON

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM RURIK TO STALIN: ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY IN PICTURES. By *Alexander Howard* and *Ernest Newman*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1945, pp. 207, \$5.75.) "The history of Russia from 862 A.D. to 1944 is shown by more than five hundred pictures with explanatory captions. A chronology of Russian history with a 'Who's who in Russia today' appears at the end."

KIEVSKAYA RUS' [Kievan Russia]. By *B. D. Grekov*. [4th Edition.] (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1944, pp. 348, 25 r.). The present work is an outgrowth of a study published by the author in 1935 under the title *Feodálne otnosheniya v kiev-skoy gosudarstve* [feudal relationships in the Kiev state]. The book is a comprehensive, if not wholly integrated, history of the first Russian state. Sponsored by the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences, it is one of the few substantial historical monographs printed during the war in the Soviet Union.

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

THE BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE. Edited by *Jaques Cattell*. (7th ed.; Lancaster, Pa., Science Press, 1944, pp. 2033, \$14.00.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Philip S. Foner*, Instructor, Jefferson School of Social Science. (New York, International Publishers, 1944, pp. 95, 85 cents.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE SCIENTIFIC TRENDS OF HIS TIME. By *Charles A. Browne*, Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry, U. S. Department of Agriculture. [Chronica Botanica, Volume VIII, Number 3.] (Waltham, Chronica Botanica; New York, G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. 363-423, \$1.25.)

BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Philip S. Foner*. (New York, Willey Book, 1944, pp. 834, \$3.00.)

MENTOR GRAHAM: THE MAN WHO TAUGHT LINCOLN. By *Kunigunde Duncan* and *D. F. Nickols*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. xxix, 274, \$3.75.) It is probable that few Americans recognize the name of Mentor Graham, friend and teacher of Lincoln. The latter's biographers dismiss him briefly, the destruction by fire of Graham's papers further consigned him to oblivion, and for some reason Lincoln himself failed to pay tribute to his New Salem teacher. In this labor of love the authors have sought to restore to his rightful place in history this inspired and exacting teacher of the Kentucky and Illinois frontier, not merely because of his Lincoln association but because of his own stature. Basing their account largely upon oral tradition, church records, and official documents, they capture the spirit of the Green and Sangamon river frontiers, and write with zest and understanding of Graham's six decades of back-country pedagogy. The old schoolmaster's creed (summarized p. 240) may be pondered with profit by modern members of the profession. Unfortunately, in certain respects this book will disappoint scholars. There is neither specific documentation nor bibliography, and the notes, while containing some references, are largely explanatory. Perhaps because the authors have not mastered their historical background, the book suffers from blurred chronology and a number of errors. A few examples only may be noted. Lincoln's attitude towards slavery is made to be more abolitionist (p. 168) than that cautious politician voiced in the antebellum period. Inasmuch as Lincoln never received a party's nomination for vice-president, he could not have lost the election for that office (p. 195). It is incorrect to speak of "Copperheads" in the Illinois of the fifties (pp. 196, 198-99) or of "secessionists" there during the Lincoln-Douglas debates (p. 197). Fort "Sumpter" [*sic*] did not fall in July (p. 203) but in April, as Mentor Graham's pupils doubtless knew.

Neither Dr. Sturtevant nor Beecher was ever made "ambassador" [*sic*] to England (p. 210). And it is a certainty that Jefferson Davis never was "his [Graham's] sister Nancy's second husband" (p. 210; but see chap. XXI, p. 263, n. 3). It is regrettable that these errors limit the usefulness of an interesting and sincere biography.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

LINCOLN: STATESMAN AND LOGICIAN. By *James W. Bollinger*. (Davenport, Iowa, privately printed, 1944, pp. 68.)

THE SCHOOL CONTROVERSY (1891-1893). By *Daniel F. Reilly*, of the Order of Preachers. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press; distributors, Providence College Bookstore, Providence, R. I., 1943, pp. x, 302, \$3.00.) This doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America undertakes to give an account of a controversy within the Catholic church in the early 1890's over whether the state should exercise control over Catholic schools and whether the state has the right to educate. The first part of the study presents the background and beginnings of the controversy, followed by the plan of Archbishop Ireland, who proposed a solution by what was known as "The Poughkeepsie Plan," an agreement between a parochial school and the city board of education that would enable the parochial school children to participate in the benefits of the public school system. The religious controversy in education in this country is an old and perplexing one and even now occasionally appears to be unsettled. It has not been confined to any one religious group. The present study, however, deals mainly with the dispute within the Catholic church in this country over "the school question." This controversy turned not only on the question of state control over Catholic schools in return for some public aid to those schools but even touched on the right of the state to educate. The issue here examined in great detail is the first "extended study" of the controversy, although a brief notice of it had previously appeared in Frederick Zwierlein's *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (3 vols., Rochester, 1925-27). The author of the present volume says, "Now that the acrimony of the controversy has disappeared with the demise of the participants, perhaps a new generation can begin to understand dispassionately, judge the questions at issue, and profit by them" (p. ix). An address in July, 1890, by Archbishop John Ireland on "State Schools and Parish Schools" seems to have given a new turn to the old question. "Without a doubt no other speech like it on Catholic and State Schools had ever before been uttered in the United States by an archbishop" (p. 47). His statements were vigorous. He granted to the state the right to maintain schools and to compel attendance upon them, praised "the liberality of the state in offering its wards gratuitous instruction," and represented himself not only friendly to but "an advocate of the state school." He said, "It is our pride and glory. The Republic of the United States has solemnly affirmed its resolve that within its borders no clouds of ignorance shall settle upon the minds of the children of its people. In furnishing the means to accomplish this result its generosity knows no limit. The Free School of America! Withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction! Can I be suspected of enmity to the state school because I would fain widen the expanse of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover; because I tell of defects which for love of the State School I seek to remedy?" But he found the parish school necessary because the public school tended "to eliminate religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country." Catholics had to have parish schools because Christians demanded religion. He saw two solutions for the problem: (1) to permeate the state school with the religion of the majority of the children; (2) "The Poughkeepsie Plan." This address started the controversy. Archbishop Ireland was reported to but not rebuked by the pope, although he had

some difficulty in defending himself in the midst of considerable writing and discussion of the subject of his address. Pope Leo XIII's "Tolerari Potest" seems to have made for the conclusion of the whole matter. On January 31, 1893, Cardinal Gibbons wrote to Pope Leo suggesting an encyclical letter on the school question and "was gratified to hear from Monsignor O'Connell at Rome that Cardinal Rampolla had remarked that 'the school question in America was decided.'" The encyclical, dated May 31, 1893, stated that, "although the public schools are not to be entirely condemned (since cases may occur, as the Council itself had foreseen, in which it is lawful to attend them), still every endeavor should be made to multiply Catholic schools and to bring them to perfect equipment" (p. 229). EDGAR W. KNIGHT

THE COTTON MILL WORKER. By *Herbert J. Lahne*. [Labor in Twentieth Century America.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. xiii, 303, \$3.00.) Dr. Lahne's book is a well-balanced and comprehensive study of the cotton goods industry and its labor force in the twentieth century. The locational shift of the industry, its rapid growth in the South, the recruitment of the labor force, and the struggle to establish unionism are described with understanding. Central to the problems of the cotton mill worker is the relationship of the industry's Northern and Southern sectors. A less competent scholar might have relied upon the covers of the volume to provide formal unity for essentially separate histories of these two sectors. But Dr. Lahne's treatment of the economics of the entire industry, its productive capacity, wage differentials, and the impediments to the establishment of unionism, provides an integrated analysis marked by great clarity. Careful evaluation of many significant factors leads the author to attribute the South's competitive advantage to lower labor costs based upon lower wage rates. He predicts serious postwar difficulties unless means are found to "maintain the purchasing power of the people at a level equal to the wartime demand." His analysis and conclusions therefore raise crucial questions of national policy with respect to wage levels, wage regulation, and collective bargaining. In this connection the chapters on interregional competition, earnings, mill villages, and wage differentials merit special attention. VERA SHLAKMAN

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM: REPORT OF A PARTICIPANT. By *James P. Cannon*. (New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1944, pp. xiv, 268, paper \$2.00, cloth \$2.75.)

LOOKING AT LIFE THROUGH AMERICAN LITERATURE. By *Nellie Mae Lombard*. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1944, pp. 101, \$1.50.) Bibliographies.

OUR JUNGLE DIPLOMACY. By *William Franklin Sands*. In collaboration with *Joseph M. Lalley*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. v, 250, \$2.50.) Mr. Sands, with the collaboration of Mr. Lalley, has, out of his varied diplomatic experience a quarter of a century ago, written a delightful book of reminiscences. They have to do chiefly with the author's services in and around Panama from the time the dirt began to fly for the Canal. There is also some interesting commentary on our policy in Mexico, where Mr. Sands also served. Furthermore, while Mr. Sands's experience in Japan and Korea are not directly touched on, he has used them to draw some interesting comparisons between American policy in the Caribbean area in that period and the Japanese policy which, beginning in Korea, eventuated in the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." At that point he might have gone a little further and compared the Japanese policy also with that of the French in Indo-China, and with the British in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo. As it stands, he draws his conclusion, a critical one, from far fewer facts than are available. One of



the most amusing side lights on the practice of American diplomacy in Central America at that time is in the form of an anecdote about Alva A. Adee, who, with William Hunter before him, was as near as the American government has ever come to having a permanent foreign office official of major rank. Mr. Adee's advice to Mr. Sands as he set out for the new post was not to become too intimate with the Central Americans or they would "diddle" him. That was one reason why the Monroe Doctrine had such tough going among the very people whom it served to protect. Mr. Sands appears to have ignored the advice, but many did not, with the result that while they may not have been "diddled," also they were not liked. There are in the book other stories, delightfully written, also throwing light on why the American government, so often failing in diplomacy, resorted not alone to dollars but also to gun-boats and marines. But Mr. Sands's little book sets out to be more than a collection of reminiscences. It has a serious purpose, and a critical one, as is reflected in the title, with a word borrowed from Kipling and by the latter used in two ways so that one has to read the author's explanation of why he borrowed the word. The title is not intended to imply that the American foreign policy has been brutal, responding to the law of the jungle, but merely that it has wandered around so much that it has been no policy at all. This conclusion, in the reviewer's judgment, requires a lot more proving than Mr. Sands has given it in the less than a hundred pages devoted to that part of the subject he has selected. And it also requires more precision in the statement of facts. *Our Jungle Diplomacy* would serve very usefully as the subject of a detailed review and criticism by an undergraduate about to take his degree with a major in American diplomatic history. The review would reveal quite well how much the student knew about the subject and how well he could handle his factual knowledge. Meanwhile, his instructor would have had an evening of much enjoyment and some instruction from reading the book.

TYLER DENNETT

WEST POINT: THE STORY OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY WHICH RISING FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES HAS TAUGHT AMERICAN SOLDIERS THE ART OF VICTORY. By E. D. J. Waugh. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xii, 246, \$2.50.) This posthumous book by Mrs. Waugh falls into three divisions: (1) a history of West Point from its foundation to the twentieth century (150 pp.); (2) a commentary on certain notable living graduates of the military academy (20 pp.); and (3) a lively description of the institution as it is today (60 pp.). The first section is by all odds the most important portion of the volume. West Point's history began immediately after 1775. The Revolutionary War relations thereto of Washington and Arnold are succinctly told. The story of its survival in the lean years after 1789 is well set forth. There are admirable sketches of such notable figures in West Point history as Alden Partridge, Sylvanus Thayer, Gouverneur Kemble, George Washington Whistler, Dennis Hart Mahan, Peter Smith Michie, and Samuel E. Tillman. The important role that West Point graduates played in nineteenth century American engineering—roads, lighthouses, coast surveys, canals, and railways—is emphasized. West Point's role in the Civil War is made clear in conclusions which are identical with those of Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenants* (III, xviii). There are a few errors of fact. Lee surrendered at Appomattox in 1865, not 1864 (p. 127). Sitting Bull was not a chief but a medicine man (p. 137). After the Serajevo assassination in 1914 it is incorrect to say that "before the week was out Germany was marching into war" (p. 146). It is doubtful whether the Japanese General Homma committed suicide in 1942 (p. 155). General Wedemeyer's name is misspelled (p. 162). The book has some interesting appendixes and a short bibliography but unfortunately possesses no index. It is well bound with attractive endpapers. Cer-



tainly it is worth perusal, for it should help all its readers to a better understanding of the most famous of all American military colleges. J. DUANE SQUIRES

MORALE EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN ARMY: WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, WAR OF 1812, CIVIL WAR. By *Philip S. Foner*. (New York, International Publishers, 1944, pp. 64, 20 cents.)

DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE U. S. A. By *J. F. C. Fuller*, Major-General in the British Army (Retired). (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xi, 416, \$4.00.) The announced purpose of this book is to present a brief history of the past wars of the United States from the study of which Americans might be better prepared to defend their liberties and to establish a more perfect peace. Unfortunately, despite General Fuller's reputation as a soldier and military historian, his view of warfare is too narrow, or perhaps too professional, and his grasp of economic and political questions too uncertain for the undertaking he set himself. The volume consists of eleven chapters on selected battles and campaigns from Trenton and Princeton to the Meuse-Argonne and follows the pattern established in his *Decisive Battles: Their Influence upon History and Civilization*, which appeared in this country two years earlier. Each chapter is introduced by a brief statement of events intended to give the work continuity and to place the engagements in their proper setting, and most of the chapters contain summaries in which military lessons and political results are discussed. Some of General Fuller's conclusions, particularly on tactics and strategy, are extremely shrewd, but they are all too brief and seldom perceptibly related to the preceding narrative. For instance, after outlining the action of two battles of the Spanish-American War, it is announced without explanation that the land fighting in this war proved, which his account of it does not, the "supremely important lesson" that "military resources should never be confounded with military strength." His descriptions of military operations are better on the older, and consequently smaller, engagements than on the larger, more complicated campaigns. The account of the Civil War, on which he is considered by some to be an authority and to which four chapters are devoted, will be almost meaningless to most readers because of the manner in which divisions and corps are moved about like pieces on a chessboard. Even more significant, there is only an occasional suggestion that there were events beyond the control of the soldiers on the field which decided the course of battle quite as much as the strategy of the generals concerned. The Meuse-Argonne, "America's greatest battle," is treated so sketchily that little more than the order of battle is given; it is covered in nine pages which also include an explanation of the strategic plan of the entire final Allied attack on Germany and an account of the negotiations leading to the armistice. It is not from this kind of history that one will learn of war and its part in world affairs.

JESSE S. DOUGLAS

91ST DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 52, \$1.00.) This completes the series of twenty-eight volumes covering the operations of the divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces which had frontline combat service. A list of these divisions and the price of each volume may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

BATTLE REPORT: PEARL HARBOR TO CORAL SEA. By *Commander Walter Karig* [*Keats Patrick*, pseud.] and *Lieutenant Welbourn Kelley*. [Council on Books in Wartime.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. 506, \$3.50.) "The story of the naval battles which were fought during the six months following Pearl Harbor.

A list of awards and citations as well as a list of casualties, during this period, is included."

PREJUDICE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS: SYMBOL OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE.

By *Carey McWilliams*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. 337, \$3.00.) The story of the Japanese immigrants and their children in the United States constitutes a case history of intergroup tensions which should be known in reasonable detail and pondered over by all students of American democracy. There is perhaps no better single source from which a comprehensive review of the story may be obtained than Carey McWilliams' *Prejudice*. Historians and social scientists, however, are likely to be critical of Mr. McWilliams' work if they judge it in terms of what would be expected in the professional writings of a colleague. This would be an unfair basis for judgment, and the reader should bear in mind the following quotation from the publisher's blurb on the jacket: "The author of *Prejudice* has long been a champion of minorities. But if he is a crusader, he is also a lawyer and his testimony is the more vigorous because it is written in the calm manner of a legal brief and documented as carefully." Mr. McWilliams has written a powerful brief, but a brief, it must be remembered, is by definition a somewhat one-sided document. Sharing in general the personal views of the author of *Prejudice*, the present reviewer nevertheless believes it necessary to say that there are reasonable grounds for differing with Mr. McWilliams on important points in his argument. Two examples of conclusions which do not seem to be established by Mr. McWilliams' evidence may be given. The conclusion that race prejudice in California, particularly against the Japanese, is largely a product manufactured by individuals and organizations seems grossly to underestimate the importance of basic social factors which have made it possible for a comparatively few individuals to stir up race conflict (pp. 235 ff.). Similarly, the strong plea that Federal action is the main and practically only hope for improving the lot of racial minorities in the United States is one-sidedly unrealistic in terms of the known socio-psychological factors in group tensions and conflict (pp. 290 ff.).

DONALD YOUNG

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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- PEEKSKILL IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Emma L. Patterson. With an Introduction by Hon. George McAneny. (Peekskill, Friendly Town Association, 1944, pp. 184.)
- ROCHESTER IN THE CIVIL WAR. Blake McKelvey, Editor. Edited under the supervision of Dexter Perkins, City Historian under the authority of the Board of Trustees of the Rochester Public Library, and Chairman of the Publication Committee under authority of the Board of Managers of the Rochester Historical Society. [The Rochester Historical Society Publications, XXII.] (Rochester, published by the Society, 1944, pp. 266.)
- FROM THE HILLS TO THE HUDSON: A HISTORY OF THE PATERSON AND HUDSON RIVER RAIL ROAD, THE PATERSON AND RAMAPO AND THE UNION RAILROADS NOW PART OF THE ERIE. By Walter Arndt Lucas. (New York, Pierce Business Book, 1944, pp. 327, \$4.00.)
- ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Volume LX, PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNTY COURT OF CHARLES COUNTY, 1666-1674. [Court Series 9.] J. Hall Pleasants, Editor; Louis Dow Scisco, Associate Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1943, pp. li, 635, \$3.00.) Through sixty years the *Archives of Maryland* have been coming around with the regularity of the earth's revolutions about the sun. Sixty bulky volumes of documentation, much of it yet to be masticated and digested—enough for a full meal for sixty average historians! And what deserves to be taken special note of at this nearly halfway station of the twentieth century is that more than a third of these records are of the seventeenth century, while none of them pertains to a period

subsequent to the American Revolution. Indeed the whole of the "Court Series," with one exception, pertains to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. What, in fact, the committee on publications has purposed in the "Court Series" has been to offer a cross section of the proceedings, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, of the several courts of the province, namely, the provincial court, the court of chancery, the county courts of Kent, Talbot, Somerset, and Charles (the only counties whose court records for the period are extant), and the fragmentary record of the manor court of St. Clements Manor, 1659-1672. The present volume is the second pertaining to Charles County, the first (for the period 1658-1666) having appeared in 1936 as Volume LIII of the *Archives*. In that volume will be found a needful history of the county court system of early Maryland—origin, development, jurisdiction, procedure—as also of the relation of the county courts to the superior courts of the province. Any characterization of the contents of this volume would seem to be quite unnecessary for such as have an acquaintance with its predecessors in the series. One gets a view of the county machinery at work, glimpses briefly many sorts and conditions of men and women as they pass in and out the court—attorneys, clergymen, physicians, apothecaries, indentured servants, innkeepers, tillers of the soil, raisers of livestock, even an occasional hog thief. Naturally it is the sins and contentions of men rather than their virtues that find record in court proceedings. Nevertheless one obtains from such records a broad and a fairly distinct picture of the life of the time, a sort of bird's-eye view, as once upon a time it was called (usually doing a grave injustice to the bird). Neither is it needful that any remarks be made upon the manner in which the editorial task has been performed, beyond mentioning that the editor of the present volume is Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who has so ably edited the last fifteen volumes of the *Archives*, furnishing in each instance an admirable analysis of the contents of the volume. One lament registered by the committee on publications in their letter of transmittal may appropriately be passed on to such as read reviews of books but not the books reviewed. The lament respects three of the four recording clerks, who were recent arrivals from England: "Missing in this period are the picturesque and oft-times coarse and sordid descriptive details of criminal and civil cases as recorded by earlier clerks, neighborhood men, who were less versed in technical legal phrase but more familiar with personalities and local backgrounds of neighborhood squabbles and feuds . . . a record which contains for us much less of human interest."

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE WEST. [Lawrence College Faculty Lecture Series.] (Appleton, Wis., Lawrence College, 1944, pp. vii, 72.) If some foreign observer were asked to designate the "heartland" of the United States, it is likely that he would point out what in common parlance most Americans call the Middle West, and what the census takers call the North Central states. Here lies a block of twelve states, heavily populated—except in their western and northern fringes—by the most typical of Americans, far removed from salt water, capable of almost unlimited industrial as well as agricultural development. Furthermore, the territory that these states occupy possesses a sectional unity so marked as to be evident to all except the most jaundiced eyes. Not far from the geographic center of this section, and even closer to its population center, lies Lawrence College, one of the Middle West's numerous and excellent "fresh-water" educational institutions. These five delightful essays, each by a different member of the Lawrence faculty, reveal much of interest about the culture of the Middle West. In the first, the section's physical basis for greatness is outlined too conclusively to admit of argument. In the second, the peopling of the land, mainly by native Americans from farther east, is set forth in business-like fashion. In the third, the political ideas of the Middle West are gathered up around the phrases "devotion to individualism," "belief in the essential equality of man," "the idea of progress," "the love of peace," and "belief in a great destiny for America." In the fourth, Mark Twain steps out as an example of the "ambivalent" personality of the Middle West, confessing and parading his own and his section's shortcomings, but pretty damned proud of the breed just the same. Finally, an essay on "Chicago as a Focus of the Arts," points to architecture and city planning as fields in which the great metropolis of the Middle West is fast coming of age. Through all these essays runs a vague uneasiness over the

bumptious conceit of the East in its low estimate of the Middle West and over the unfortunate and unjustified tendency of the Middle West to abase itself before Eastern critics. What the people of both sections often fail to realize is that the rawness of the early Middle Western frontier has long since passed away, that the limitless potentialities of the section are being increasingly developed, that time works inexorably to make of the Middle West a full and equal partner with the East, and with other sections, in the cultural life of the nation. Differences do exist and will continue to exist. But the notion that one section is predestined and foreordained to be forever superior while another remains forever inferior is fast becoming the mere delusion of little minds.

JOHN D. HICKS

MUSIC MASTER OF THE MIDDLE WEST: THE STORY OF F. MELIUS CHRISTIANSEN AND THE ST. OLAF CHOIR. By *Leola Nelson Bergmann*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, pp. v, 230, \$2.50.) In the opinion of the present reviewer, the vitality which music has or will have in this country must arise not out of the calculated search for musical Americanism by the folklorist nor from the glib sensationalism of the concert hall and radio, but from the "grass roots" need for music of the people who live in America. Much of our musical activity is energized by that kind of need, and it is important that such sources of musical vitality become a part of the record. That record, which will be the history of music in America, gradually is being written. Mrs. Bergmann's story of Mr. Christiansen and his St. Olaf Choir is an important and inspiring part of it. It has been done better, perhaps, because the author's conscious intent was to fit her story into a picture much larger than the history of music in America: the whole flow of American civilization as it moves across the Middle West. Mrs. Bergmann begins her book with the story of the Christiansen family in Norway. The migration to America and the eventual settlement in Minnesota are told clearly and sympathetically. As the story moves forward, Mr. Christiansen, after preparation in Minneapolis and Leipzig, becomes a part of St. Olaf College. The stage is set for his contribution to American musical life. That contribution is outlined with no loss of motion as it attains a national significance. The author is to be congratulated on the objectivity she maintains despite the fact that she has been a member of the St. Olaf Choir. The book is the result of a doctor's thesis done at the State University of Iowa. It might well be required reading not only for everyone interested in music in America but for all those whose interest in American culture leads them to the study of the epic history of those "immigrants who came to America to realize the dream they felt could not be quickened in the land of their birth."

THEODORE M. FINNEY

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE INDIANA OOLITIC LIMESTONE INDUSTRY. By *Joseph A. Batchelor*, Department of Economics, Indiana University. [Indiana Business Studies, No. 27.] (Bloomington, Indiana University School of Business, 1944, pp. xii, 382, \$3.50.) This study of the Indiana building limestone industry is an excellent example of the modern approach to economic history by the case study method. The material for the study like the industry itself is concentrated in the two Indiana counties around Bloomington. As the heyday of the industry was since the turn of the century it was possible for the author to supplement documents with interviews. The study is broadly conceived but admirably focused. Due attention to technology, labor, price policy, mergers, and like topics is subordinated to the announced purpose of the study.

THE TEXAS DEMOCRATS: EARLY DEMOCRATIC HISTORY IN TEXAS. By *Marion Humphreys Farrow*. (San Antonio, Naylor, 1944, pp. ix, 99, \$2.00.)

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MISSION MONUMENTS OF NEW MEXICO. By *Edgar L. Hewett* and *Reginald G. Fisher*. [Handbooks of Archaeological History. Publication of the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1943, pp. 269, \$4.00.)

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

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## COLONIAL PERIOD

### NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- EL CORREO EN SANTO DOMINGO: HISTORIA DOCUMENTADA. By Oscar E. Ravelo A., Auxiliar Especial de la Dirección General de Comunicaciones. Tomo I. [Republica Dominicana, Direccion General de Comunicaciones.] (Ciudad Trujillo, Distrito de Santo Domingo, R. D., 1944, pp. 239.) This documentary account of the postal service in Española begins with the epoch before Columbus and brings the story down to the year 1864 (omitting, of course, Haiti both under French control and after its independence). It includes pertinent excerpts from the *Laws of the Indies*, notes regarding personnel, descriptions of routes, and data on rates and costs of service. An appendix contains eighteen documents well distributed through the period covered, many of them taken from the Archivo de la Nación; and both the illustrations and a brief bibliography increase the value of the volume, which suggests the need for further investigation of the postal system of colonial and national Hispanic America.

J. FRED RIPPY

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

GACETA DE CARACAS. Reproducción mandada a hacer por la Academia Nacional de la Historia . . . bajo los auspicios del Gobierno Nacional de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela. Five volumes. (Paris, H. Dupuy, 1939, unpaginated or irregularly paginated.) CORREO DEL ORINOCO, 1818-1821. Reproducción facsimilar ordenada por el presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela . . . en conmemoración del cincuentenario de la Academia Nacional de la Historia. (Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer, 1939, unpaginated.) With the publication of these elaborate facsimile editions, the hitherto rare *Gaceta de Caracas* and *Correo del Orinoco* become easily available to scholars. The reproductions are based upon the most complete files of these publications known, those preserved in the Venezuelan Academy of History, supplemented when possible by other numbers in the possession of public and private owners in various American and European nations. The *Gaceta*, first published on October 24, 1808, became the patriot organ when the revolution began in 1810 and continued to serve that cause until 1812. In the latter year it passed into the hands of Monteverde's royalists, who used it as the medium of their propaganda until Caracas was once more occupied by Bolívar in 1813. With the fall of the second Venezuelan republic the following year, the royalists once more seized the paper; and the able pamphleteer José Domingo Díaz effectively used its columns to discredit the patriot cause until the latter's victory at Carabobo in 1821. Meanwhile, with the establishment of Bolívar's forces on the lower Orinoco, the patriots founded the *Correo del Orinoco* in 1818 to defend their own cause and to attack that of the *Gaceta*. Partly because of the numerous vicissitudes through which it passed, the *Gaceta* was published in various formats and types, which have been exactly duplicated in the present edition. The *Correo*, which was shorter lived, did not vary its form. Both papers possess a value far transcending that of the numerous official documents which they contain. They reflect the clashing ideologies of the revolution in Venezuela in dramatic detail, are full of information and misinformation concerning personalities, and are a prime source for revolutionary social history. The Academia Nacional de la Historia is to be congratulated for its enterprise.

MONUMENTOS Y LUGARES HISTORICOS DE LA REPUBLICA ARGENTINA. Advertencia de Ricardo Levene. [Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Publica, Comision Nacional de Museos y Monumentos Históricos.] (Buenos Aires, published by the Commission, 1944, pp. 178.)

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

The Year's Business

THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE Stevens Hotel, Chicago, was headquarters for the fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Association, held December 28–29, 1944. Again, as in the last few years, wartime conditions dictated a reduction of the length of the convention to two days and restricted attendance considerably. Four hundred and twenty-two members registered their attendance, and a hundred or so additional persons were present without formal registration. The program included twenty-five sessions, including the business meeting, and embraced a total of forty formal papers. No central theme dominated the papers, although the nature of the times brought about an almost inevitable relation of the subject at hand to current issues of war and peace.

Three sessions were held Thursday morning, December 28. One was devoted to ancient history, the second was a joint meeting with the Agricultural History Society, and the third was a joint session with the Economic History Association. The ancient history group, presided over by J. A. O. Larsen, heard three papers about problems of the Hellenistic and Roman empires. A. Arthur Schiller's "Bureaucracy and Law in the Roman Principate" dealt with the effect of the development of Roman bureaucracy, particularly the equestrian offices, on law and the legal profession. The author found that the jurists tended to follow tradition in the interpretation of law and compared the Roman development with modern encroachments of administrative bureaus. Esther V. Hansen presented a closely knit paper, "The Relation between the Attalids and the Greek City-States," wherein she pointed to the actual dependence of the cities upon directions from the rulers and insisted that the cities, to whatever class they belonged, were not actually free. In the final paper of the session, "The Common Soldier in the Roman Army: Notes on Military Papyri," Robert O. Fink showed how recently discovered papyri shed light on a variety of subjects, such as the multiplicity of tasks imposed upon the Roman soldier, the deductions from his nominal pay, the nationality of the soldiers, length of service, rate of advancement to the ranks of noncommissioned officers, and the like.

Meeting concurrently, the Agricultural History Society, with Russell H. Anderson as chairman, was concerned with "The Land in Critical Periods." The session opened with Frank L. Owsley's "Pattern of Migration and Settlement in the Old South." Mr. Owsley found that westward-moving settlers usually sought new lands similar to their former holdings, that they followed the same type of farming practiced in the East, and that, in the uplands, it was settled agriculture, not slavery, that pushed settlers into rugged, less fertile lands. In the second paper,

Rudolph Freund discussed the Revolutionary soldier and early bounty lands under the title, "The Ex-Soldier and the Land Question: Some Historical Remarks." Mr. Freund outlined the use of bounty lands as an incentive to enlistment, the economic and political consequences of speculation in land scrip, and the contribution of bounty land practices to the development of free land policies. The session concluded with a paper jointly prepared by Donald C. Horton and E. Fenton Shepard and entitled "Federal Aid to Agriculture since World War I." The authors reviewed the changing philosophy underlying Federal aids, pointed out the steps taken in behalf of agriculture, and ventured the prophecy that future aid will be given within established frameworks and will be motivated by broad social objectives.

The third session scheduled for Thursday morning, that of the Economic History Association, dealt with the general theme, "National Variations in the Effects of Specific Economic Innovations." Chester W. Wright served as chairman. Arthur H. Cole read the first paper, "Ancillary Business Institutions in Europe and America," wherein he analyzed the manner in which legal, social, economic, and other factors reacted upon the introduction of mercantile agencies, auditing methods, and "scientific" management in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany to effect markedly different results. Similarly stressing the way in which different backgrounds may lead to varying results, Arthur L. Dunham, in the second paper, compared "Laissez Faire in Relation to Transportation, the Tariff, and Labor in England and France, 1814-1846." The session ended with Edmund A. Nightingale's "Trends in National Taxation in the United Kingdom and the United States in the Twentieth Century." Although the paper was not read in full, it presented a detailed statistical analysis of total tax collections in the two countries together with a calculation of their relation to the respective national incomes. Throughout the period since 1900 British taxes have consumed a larger percentage of the national income than American, although the latter have been gradually increasing until, in 1943-44, they rose to 31 per cent (as against the British 38.8 per cent) of the total estimated national income.

Two luncheon conferences were scheduled for Thursday noon, but one of them, the joint conference of the Association and the Society of American Archivists, under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Pease, was unhappily canceled by the hotel management. The program, planned as a round-table discussion by C. C. Crittenden, Stanley Erikson, and Hermann F. Robinton, will be presented, in part at least, in the society's journal, *The American Archivist*. The second luncheon conference, that of the modern history group, found David H. Willson substituting for Eugene N. Anderson as chairman. After a report on the *Journal of Modern History* by Louis Gottschalk, and other business matters, Oscar Jászi analyzed the problems of "Central Europe and Russia." To the question "Will Russia not sovietize the Danubian countries and the Balkans?" Mr. Jászi averred that the chief motive of Russian foreign policy after the present war will be to make peace secure, that for a generation, at least, Russia's energies will be con-

sumed in internal rehabilitation and restoration, that during this time Russia will abstain from any action which would disturb her co-operation with the democracies, and that a third World War might well become inevitable if, during this generation of Russian reconstruction, democratic statecraft fails to create a genuinely workable peace structure.

The program for Thursday afternoon included, besides the business meeting of the Association, five sessions meeting concurrently. These embraced "The Middle Ages and the Renaissance," "English History," "Latin-American History," "American Patriotism," a joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies, and "Relations between Civil and Military Authorities during the Civil War," a joint session with the Southern Historical Association. A brief account of each of these sessions follows.

A. C. Krey presided at the meeting on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Three papers were read and three discussion leaders took part. Charles W. Jones presented "New Light on Bede the Historian," setting forth in admirable fashion the limitations under which Bede and the chroniclers in the centuries immediately preceding him had labored. Charles C. Mierow's "Otto of Freising and His Histories" recapitulated, with many additions, the materials recently published in the introduction to his translation of Otto of Freising's *Two Cities*. Berthold L. Ullman read the final paper of the session, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography," which, as it will presently be published in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, will not be oversimplified here. Discussion of the papers was ably conducted by William C. Bark, Bernard J. Holm, and Theodor E. Mommsen. Unfortunately, the meeting place assigned to this session—as has been too often the case with meetings devoted to such a long era—was far too small for the number of persons seeking to attend. [*Vide*: future committees on local arrangements.]

The English history session, under the chairmanship of Robert K. Richardson, confined its attention to one paper, A. L. Burt's "Historical Bases of Britain's Social Security Program." Mr. Burt maintained that the recent Beveridge Report is a natural outcome of an evolution in English public opinion and legislation dating from Tudor times and quickened in tempo by the industrial revolution and nineteenth century humanitarianism. In this manner, said the author, the Beveridge Report, which appears revolutionary to American "Tories," seems to English Tories merely as "a proposal to 'tidy up,' to fill out, and to systematize existing services." To reach this conclusion, Mr. Burt sketched the more or less familiar story of English remedial legislation and the gradual extension of social services. Frederick C. Dietz and Frances E. Gillespie, acting as discussion leaders, each contributed further materials to the topic under scrutiny. Mr. Dietz pointed to the influence of the conscience of the governing classes, the sincerity of which alone gives meaning to the mass of parliamentary speeches about the poor, and to the late nineteenth century Exchequer discovery of new tax powers (estate taxes, income taxes, and the like) which made possible huge new expenditures for social



services. Miss Gillespie held that Mr. Burt had overemphasized the continuity of English social security legislation in that current legislation rests upon a collectivistic base whereas nineteenth century social legislation "was empiricism grafted upon a fundamental individualism."

Economic developments predominated in the Latin-American session, over which J. Fred Rippy presided. William H. Gray presented an account of "Steamboat Transportation on the Orinoco," George Wythe discussed "The Rise of the Factory in Latin America," and Constantine E. McGuire traced "Monetary Theory and Policy in Ibero-America Prior to the Twentieth Century."

Andrew W. Cordier served as chairman of the joint session of the Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. The single paper presented, "The Role of Patriotism in American Life," by Merle Curti, provoked a lively discussion led by Jacob C. Meyer, Burr W. Phillips, and Harrison J. Thornton—a discussion which tended to become confused between historical and "hortatory" motivations.

The remaining meeting held during Thursday afternoon—a joint session with the Southern Historical Association—treated in timely fashion of "Relations between Civil and Military Authorities during the Civil War." Howark K. Beale presided. "Civil and Military Relationships under Lincoln" was the topic of the paper by James G. Randall. Mr. Randall pointed out that, although there were under Lincoln clashes of military and civil authorities, thousands of arbitrary arrests, suspension of habeas corpus, instances of unwarranted power assumed by generals, and other irregularities, Lincoln was no dictator. He reached out for wide powers but he treated government as a human instrument, considered practical situations of greater importance than naked legality, and applied personal techniques to relieve deadlocks. Thus, the Constitution was stretched and some of its parts were subordinated to emergencies, but it was not subverted. Frank Freidel, in "General Order No. 100 and Military Government," found that General Order No. 100, drafted by Francis Lieber for the War Department and promulgated by President Lincoln as commander-in-chief, was of little effect in regulating the rules of land warfare during the remainder of the Civil War. Subsequently, however, it became the basis of such codes, culminating in the Hague Rules which are still in effect. W. B. Hesseltine presented the final paper of this session, entitled "Northern Governors and the Lincoln Government." Mr. Hesseltine held that the Civil War destroyed state rights not only by defeat of the Confederacy but also by suppression of the states in the North. Lincoln steadily sought to increase the power of the national government at the expense of the states and found his chief antagonists in the state governors. In four areas—the remolding of the Republican party into a Union party based on Federal patronage, the direction of the armies, the raising of troops, and the formulation of national policies—Lincoln successfully asserted national powers against the pretensions of state governments and state governors.

Discussions were cut short at all the Thursday afternoon sessions to enable members to attend the business meeting of the Association at 3:45. This unusually

long and lively affair, which is reported elsewhere by the executive secretary, was barely finished in time for members to attend the annual dinner. At the latter, George C. Sellery acted as toastmaster. As in the past, the members present heard with interest the announcement of the award of prizes by the president. The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, Professor C. W. de Kiewiet, chairman, conferred the award upon R. H. Fisher for his study, *The Russian Fur Trade, 1550-1700* (University of California Press, 1943). The committee on the John H. Dunning Prize, Professor Charles H. Barker, chairman, gave the prize to Lieutenant Elting E. Morison, U.S.N.R., for his volume, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy* (Houghton Mifflin, 1942). The committee also gave honorable mention to the following authors for excellence in the fields named: Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (University of California Press, 1943), early American history; Lieutenant Jeter A. Iseley, U.S.N.R., *Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune* (now in manuscript), national political history; and Richard A. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), history of thought. After the announcement of prizes Mr. Sellery gave a lively review of the speaker's career at Wisconsin in the Turner era of the university and then presented President William Linn Westermann, who read his presidential address, "Between Slavery and Freedom," already published in the preceding number of this *Review* (L [Jan., 1945], 213-27).

Four sessions met Friday morning, three of them joint meetings of the Association with affiliated organizations. The fourth, a session devoted to modern European history, was presided over by Louis Gottschalk. John B. Sirich presented the first paper, "Prudhomme's *Les Révolutions de Paris*." Mr. Sirich analyzed the French journalist's early French Revolutionary publication and found that the compiler, though he began with brave Leftist principles in 1789, saw fit to modify his stand by 1794, possibly because of a genuine alteration of political faith or, more likely, because of ill health and the disciplinary value of the guillotine. The second paper, written by Geoffrey Bruun and read by Frederick Artz, gave a thought-provoking comparison of "Eighteenth-Century Despots and Twentieth-Century Dictators." Mr. Bruun suggested that the most striking points of similarity were in the weakening of the rule of law in both eras (occasioned, in each instance, by the encroachments of bureaucracy), in the economic nationalism of both eras, and in the somewhat parallel roles played by intellectuals in each. A lengthy discussion, led by John B. Wolf, centered about the role of ideas and the intellectual in revolutionary events.

The American Military Institute, meeting jointly with the Association under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Blegen, conducted a stimulating session highlighted by Troyer S. Anderson's paper, "The Influence of Military Production and Supply on History." Perhaps the core of Mr. Anderson's argument is best summarized in the sentence, "God has transferred His allegiance from the big battalions to the big factories." This transfer has altered the nature of warfare, has created new elements of surprise, has changed both the tactics and the objectives

of war. Because industrial mobilization must now precede strictly "military" mobilization, the "old, sharp distinction between war and peace has been very much blurred." Defense is no longer superior to offense. Regional dominance no longer insures a state against the intervention of extraregional enemies, and present-day military production and logistics tend to preclude the "localization" of war. Mr. Anderson's paper provoked a long discussion led by W. B. Hesseltine, who turned attention to the impact of military production and supply upon the internal history of a nation, and Brigadier General Donald Armstrong, who dealt principally with the role of the Army Industrial College in war.

The Reverend Clarence J. Ryan presided over the joint meeting of the Association and the American Catholic Historical Association. The two papers presented treated of "Christian Missions in China." The first, "American Contributions to the Catholic Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century," by the Reverend Joseph Paul Ryan, pointed out that only during the past twenty-five years has the Catholic church in the United States taken organized steps in foreign mission fields and that, by 1943, fifty-three different orders and congregations were supporting 635 priests and nuns in the Far East. Kenneth Scott Latourette gave the second paper, "The Protestant Attitude toward American Christian Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century." Mr. Latourette described the recent extensions of American Protestant missionary activity, the attempts to redirect the life of China as a whole, the effort to train Chinese Christian leaders, and the trends toward unity in Protestant missionary activities. The discussion, led by the Reverend George H. Dunne and Harley F. MacNair, emphasized the American Catholic need of greater stress upon the cultural approach to missionary enterprise and the Protestant need of a larger group of trained, native clergy.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, in a joint session with the Association and with Wendell H. Stephenson in the chair, heard George Fort Milton read a paper, "History—Key to the Magic Door." Mr. Milton discussed three aspects of history, namely, (1) that despite mounting piles of historical records the *written* accounts of current decisions of *haute politique*—thanks to the telephone, the walkie-talkie, the direct personal exchange of leaders, and the possible lack of reliable diarists in the present day—are embarrassingly few; (2) that historical thinking is likely to be more important in the present age than the further accumulation of materials; and (3) that Lord Bolingbroke's dictum ("history is philosophy teaching by example") deserves reiteration, inasmuch as history should be the key to the magic door of a more abounding life. George F. Howe served as leader of the discussion, which centered principally upon ways and means of making historical knowledge count for more both in public and in private affairs.

Four luncheon sessions took place Friday noon. The Latin-American group, with Samuel F. Bemis as chairman, heard William S. Robertson describe "The Memorabilia of Augustín de Iturbide." The American Association for State and Local History, in a joint conference with members of the Association, LeRoy R. Hafen presiding, heard Stanley M. Pargellis read "The Historian and the Cor-

poration." Mr. Pargellis' paper, a sequel to an earlier address given before the Newcomen Society, urged the mutual establishment of better understanding and appreciation between corporation leaders and historians. Paul Kiniery presided at the Silver Jubilee Luncheon of the American Catholic Historical Association. Guy Stanton Ford presented greetings from the American Historical Association, and the Reverend John K. Cartwright spoke in behalf of one of the founders of the American Catholic Historical Association, the Right Reverend Monsignor Peter Guilday, who was absent because of illness. The meeting concluded with an address, "The Achievements of Twenty-five Years," by the Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch, archbishop of Chicago.

The dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, scheduled in the printed program for the evening of December 29, was canceled and a luncheon was held in its stead on the same day. William C. Binkley served as chairman. The paper, entitled "The Library of Congress and the Historians," was written by Archibald MacLeish and read by Luther H. Evans. Primarily the paper was an appeal for greater co-operation between librarians and historians in order to enable the former better to collect, to preserve, and to make available all materials useful—or likely to be useful—to the latter. To this end, it was suggested that an effort on the part of historians to supply plans of proposed studies might serve as a useful guide to librarians both in evaluating the uses of library materials and in anticipating demands of scholars.

The Honorable Joseph M. Boyer presided at the Friday afternoon session dealing with "Canadian-American Relations." The first paper, "A United States of North America—Shadow or Substance, 1815-1915," was presented by Joe Patterson Smith. Mr. Smith concluded that the shadow loomed far larger than the substance inasmuch as annexationist sentiment on both sides of the border tended to spring from small, particularist groups, often activated by local discontent or a desire for private advantage and unable to generate enough pressure to obtain action. In the second paper, Donald G. Creighton analyzed "The Place of Canada in the English-speaking World." He found the keys to this position in Canada's geographical location, which renders close relations with the United States necessary, and in Canada's political choice of membership in the British Empire. Out of this duality Canada finds an opportunity, as a power of middle rank, to play an intermediary role between the United States and Britain and, through them, to influence world affairs. During the discussion L. Ethan Ellis pointed out that the two papers, in combination, appear to dispose once for all of the hope of direct political union between Canada and the United States; and Reginald G. Trotter emphasized the importance of maintaining the existing close relations among the English-speaking peoples.

"Area Studies, with Special Reference to the Far East" was the topic of another Friday afternoon session. The chairman, Harley F. MacNair, introduced three speakers. Allan B. Cole read Knight Biggerstaff's paper on "The Value of Area Studies for Civilian Undergraduates and Specialists"; George A. Kennedy pre-

sented "The Place of Languages in Area Studies"; and Philip Davidson discussed "Area Studies Confront Curricular Problems." Considered together, these papers constituted a valuable survey of a challenging new approach to the teaching of history, the social studies, and other cultural subjects. Assuming that area studies are more than a passing experiment, the problems of interdepartmental co-operation, of curricular readjustment, of financing a possibly larger staff requirement (Mr. Kennedy found that concentrated courses in Oriental languages required a teacher-student ratio of about 1:5 for satisfactory results), and of convincing civilian undergraduates of the desirability of such training—all these suggest sizable barriers to the large-scale conversion of area studies to peacetime education.

A third meeting held Friday afternoon focused attention upon "Liberals of the Midwest." With Dwight L. Dumond in the chair, two papers were presented. In the first, "William Allen White Looks at Normalcy," Walter Johnson showed that William Allen White, an old "Bull Mooser," was appalled at the lack of idealism in domestic matters and in American foreign policy. From White's correspondence—to which Mr. Johnson had free access—quotations were read which depicted White denouncing the second Klan, the Red scare, and labor baiting. "The ironic thing," concluded Mr. Johnson, "was that White supported the Republican Party which in many ways was responsible for the isolation and lack of idealism of the American people during the decade." The second paper was entitled "George W. Norris—Forty Years of Battle." Written by James E. Lawrence, who was close to Norris during most of the latter's career, the paper set forth many hitherto unrecorded personal incidents in the senator's life and emphasized three fronts upon which the Nebraskan simultaneously waged war in Congress: for the TVA, the Lame Duck Amendment, and the Anti-Injunction Act. With regard to the TVA issue, Mr. Lawrence held that "The real fight was not so much to procure the TVA legislation; the real fight was to check and stem the American tradition of licensing private enterprise to do a job that, it would seem, falls directly to the province of government." In the discussion, led by R. Carlyle Buley and Harvey Wish, the ideal of these Midwestern liberals was represented as "the competence of the majority to direct the destiny of the nation" while their efforts to implement the ideal were by removal of "political checks to the free working of the representative principle."

Percy V. Norwood presided at the joint session of the Association and the American Society of Church History. William Warren Sweet read the only paper presented, entitled "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty." The prime object of the paper was to demonstrate the influence of natural religion upon the rise of religious liberty in eighteenth century America. Mr. Sweet held that John Locke and Joseph Priestley "furnished the American Revolutionary fathers not only the political philosophy which underlay their attitude toward the mother-country but also the religious philosophy which determined their attitude toward the church and its relation to the state." From these sources eighteenth century American liberals acquired philosophical justification for separation of church and

state and for the establishment of religious liberty. Jacob C. Meyer and Ralph H. Gabriel led the discussion, dealing chiefly with some indigenous factors in the American development of anticlerical and antiecclesiastical sentiment in post-Revolutionary days.

The Lexington group, an informal association of persons interested in railroad history which originated in May, 1942, at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, met Friday afternoon with Paul W. Gates presiding. To place qualified research men in touch with source materials in railroad history and to encourage research in the field were the principal objects reviewed. A plan was set forth to prepare a central guide to all collections of railroad materials open to scholarly use. Colonel Robert S. Henry agreed to house such a guide in the Bureau of Railway Economics, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C., and members of the group agreed to co-operate in its preparation. Various other aspects of research in railroad history were considered, and Stanley M. Pargellis reported upon the extensive materials recently made available in the Newberry Library by the Illinois Central Railroad.

A tour of the Chicago Historical Society Building on Friday afternoon conducted by Herbert A. Kellar under the joint auspices of the Association and the American Association for State and Local History, concluded the activities scheduled for the fifty-ninth annual meeting.

*University of Illinois*

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

# REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE YEAR 1944

At the beginning of this annual accounting of the affairs of the American Historical Association I am happy to record a small but in these times significant gain in membership. Last year we made something of holding our own with a gain of two members. This year the gain is twenty times as great, which is a more impressive notation than to say we have forty-three more members than on the corresponding date last year. Seven new life members have enrolled and sixteen have died.

The membership statistics, as of December 15, are as follows:

Individuals	
Life .....	<sup>1</sup> 432
Annual .....	2,782
Institutions	
25-year memberships .....	6
Annual .....	408
<hr/>	
Total .....	3,628

<sup>1</sup> During the year sixteen life members have died and seven have been added. Of the seven added, two are new members and five annual members who changed over to life membership.



The Treasurer's report shows our finances are in a healthy condition. The considerable gain in receipts over last year is in part due to an effort to make all *Review* subscriptions begin with the October issue, and is thus somewhat deceptive.

We have kept, despite losses of able assistants, a competent and conscientious staff in the central office. Miss Catharine Seybold has replaced Miss Blegen as assistant editor and Miss Joan Margo carries the office responsibilities of Miss Bohning, resigned. These young women, with Miss Washington as senior to us all, carry their special responsibilities and serve as interchangeable parts when the load becomes heavy in any other sector of the office.

Your Executive Secretary was obliged to assume added responsibilities in connection with the Historical Service Board when Dean Theodore C. Blegen, the Director, returned to his university duties on September 1. A part of the salary of the Executive Secretary is charged to the Board's budget and paid directly into the Association's treasury.

As one of the current war activities of the Association, a brief report of the work of the Historical Service Board is perhaps the first matter to report. The Board has been engaged since September, 1943, in preparing pamphlets for volunteer discussion groups in the Army in this country and abroad. It has maintained a small staff in offices in the Annex to the Library of Congress and has many collaborators both in and out of Washington. The Board members have all been active in reading and criticizing manuscripts. The difficulties and exasperating delays in connection with getting out the pamphlets would make more than one chapter in the history of civilian military co-operation. For what it has done, the Board and its Director, Mr. Blegen, and the staff, Mr. Thomas K. Ford, Miss Sarah Davidson, and Mrs. Arthur J. Larsen, deserve an "E" production pennant, and each pamphlet that has been accepted and printed deserves whole rows of combat area ribbons. Mr. Blegen and I are both candidates for the Purple Heart. Speaking before complete returns are in, I should hope that by January first some eighteen pamphlets would be available to the soldiers but none to civilians, which is a matter of regret for they are of equal importance to any citizen whether in uniform or out. Almost as many more pamphlets are in various stages of preparation. In form and substance they are a tribute to the scholarship and adaptability of the authors and the editorial skill of the staff and the artists, many of them in the Army, who have designed their covers and illustrations.

Major Edward Evans has had charge in these matters of design in co-operation with the Board's staff. The pamphlets are part of the far-flung program of the Division of Information and Education of the Army, directed by Major General Frederick H. Osborn. The liaison officer between the Historical Service Board and the War Department is Major Donald W. Goodrich. No one could have been more helpful and understanding than Major Goodrich in forwarding the whole enterprise. The editions of the pamphlets, first set at thirty-five thousand copies, have been increased to printings of two hundred thousand copies. The project, whether or not it goes on after this year, will stand as an enterprise worthy



of the approbation of the Association and a credit to it in the years to come. May I record here, as the War Department has already done, a word of unstinted praise for the intelligence, tact, and energy with which its Director, Mr. Blegen, set it on its feet and saw it on its way to success.

I should like to devote the body of my report to the *Review* rather than to any broad consideration of the state of history in the nation. I can only say on the latter point that the appearance of excellent special studies and of articles, both of which are, I hope, revealed in the *Review*, is an encouraging sign for postwar historical scholarship.<sup>2</sup> We can be sure that the interests of that scholarship will be broader both as to areas, eras, and fields of interest than any we have known. For the present, the indicative signs are an outpouring by the half-trained of hasty and evanescent potboilers unworthy of more than a moment's attention except as fluttering leaves that indicate the way the wind of interest will blow in the coming decade. And the time ought soon to be here when a few bold spirits will undertake works of great sweep and inclusive synthesis. The present number of such major undertakings, either co-operative or singlehanded, is lamentably few. If you doubt it, try to name them.

There is a special reason for calling your attention to the *Review*. The present volume is the fiftieth and closes a half century in the life of what has become one of the leading historical periodicals of the world, under the present adverse conditions in the rest of the scholarly world, the leading periodical.

It had been my purpose to devote part of the last issue of the semicentennial volume to a formal recognition of the anniversary. It would have been appropriate to edit and bring down to date the admirable essay by Professor Jameson on the founding and first quarter century of the *Review*. That possibility became quite uncertain. The occasion should not go unnoticed. As a substitute for the original plan, I present here a brief summary of the main points of the story as told by the first editor. Those who have access to Volume XXVI of the *Review* will have no less pleasure in reading the account told in Professor Jameson's own inimitable style.

The idea of an American historical periodical that was not local or antiquarian had found expression by 1895 in several centers where men trained in Europe

<sup>2</sup> Volume XLIX of the *Review* (Oct., 1943-July, 1944) contains 853 pages, including an annual index of 27 pages, as compared with 946 pages in Vol. XLVIII. (The index was cut from 45 pages in Vol. XLVIII.) The total number of articles, notes and suggestions, and documents was 21, as compared with 16 in Vol. XLVIII. Vol. XLIX contains 219 reviews as against 306 in Vol. XLVIII and 189 notices as against 242, a total of reviews and notices of 408 as compared with 548 in Vol. XLVIII, a decrease of approximately 25 per cent. During the period from September 1, 1943, to September 1, 1944, 82 articles, notes and suggestions, and documents were submitted. Of these, 23 were accepted, 55 declined, and 4 are under consideration. Thirteen major articles were published, including the presidential address. (The report of the Executive Secretary on the progress of the Association during the past year appears in the section on "Historical News" rather than as a major article as in Vol. XLVIII.) Of these, five are in the field of American history, five in European history, one in medieval history, and one on public records in wartime. Of the notes and suggestions, one deals with United States historiography in the present war, another with the future of the National Archives, a third with the introductory college course in civilization; three are in the field of American history and one in European history. There is one documentary contribution, a letter on Major André in Germany.

were giving full time to the teaching of history. Of the one hundred (circa), half of them had come back from Europe, chiefly Germany, impressed with the service rendered by the *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded in 1859, and the *Revue Historique*, founded in 1876. The *English Historical Review* was ending its first decade. In 1894, plans for an American historical periodical were formed or forming in at least three centers—Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Pennsylvania. The plans at Cornell, under the impetus given by Professor H. Morse Stephens, had gone to the stage of approval and financial support by the trustees and a rearrangement of the duties of Professor Stephens so that he could give time to editorial duties. Professors Burr and Moses Coit Tyler, of the Cornell staff, were to be his associates. At the same time the very considerable historical staff at Harvard, headed by Professor Emerton, was making similar plans. Neither group knew of the work of the other until in sending out feelers for support and interest each opened correspondence with other scholars. Chief among these was Professor George Burton Adams of Yale University. Through his efforts and those of others who had been asked to a conference by the Harvard group and the active co-operation of Professor Stephens there was substituted a general conference in New York, April 6, 1895, called by six representative men, Tyler of Cornell, Adams of Yale, Emerton of Harvard, Judson of Chicago, McMaster of Pennsylvania, and Sloane of Princeton. Twenty-six men attended, all of whose names have a place in the history of American historiography and only one of whom is living today.<sup>3</sup> Here all interests were pooled and a national periodical, not one attached to an institution, was founded. A board of six editors was chosen with power to choose a managing editor. A guarantee fund of \$2,000 a year for two years was set up, and the Macmillan Company of New York became, and has remained throughout, the efficient and co-operative publishers. As one reviews the history of the origin of the *American Historical Review*, one can only hope that if any division should arise in the future in the historical profession it will be met by the same generous waiving of institutional and personal interests that marked the beginnings of what is now our official organ.

When Professor Jameson became the first editor, he was not manager of something sponsored or initiated by this Association as such. The *Review* was the property of the editors, or perhaps the guarantors, and, to an undetermined degree, of the publishers. The editorial board was self-perpetuating and almost unchanging in membership for the first twenty years. It met frequently, and, as the earlier managing editors were also officers on the salary roll of the Carnegie Institution, the Board had funds to carry an ample staff, while paying the expenses of three or four meetings a year and rewarding contributors and reviewers rather generously.

The last step was taken in 1916 when the Board of Editors transferred to the American Historical Association whatever rights of ownership it possessed. This transfer had been preceded by a somewhat turbulent and acrimonious discussion of the Constitution of the Association. The spread of the controversy was due in

<sup>3</sup> Frederic Bancroft—and he has died since this was written. See page 673, below.

part to a misunderstanding by the members of the Association of the status of the *Review* and its peculiar position in the matter of management and ownership. Some members are still living who recall those stormy days. The controversy is only faintly revealed in the minutes of the Council and the Association but quite vividly set forth in the columns of the *Nation* and in fugitive circulars. Professor Jameson was too much of a gentleman to recall in his article the unpleasantness of it all and too much of a statesman to open again a rift so recently closed twenty-five years ago. So far as the *Review* was concerned, the quiet cession by the Board of its rights was in the same spirit in which what might have been rival groups and rival periodicals were combined in one organ that had no other interest but that of all history and of all those interested either professionally or as citizens in history.

The story of the founding of the *Review*, the spirit of the founders, and the ideals and standards they set up are a heritage to be treasured. The successive managing editors and the Boards of Editors have sought to preserve these ideals and standards. It is appropriate to close this brief sketch by recalling the names of my predecessors, chief of whom always is J. Franklin Jameson. They are: J. Franklin Jameson, 1895-1901; Andrew C. McLaughlin, 1901-1905; J. Franklin Jameson, 1905-1928; Dana C. Munro, 1928-1929; Henry E. Bourne, 1929-1936; and Robert Livingston Schuyler, 1936-1941.

Aside from the editing of the *Review* and the business affairs of the Association, the major part of the work of the Association is carried on by its committees. The war has decreased the activities of some committees, but all, under the leadership of their chairmen, have done the duties assigned them. In the case of some of the committees, such work is no small addition to the burdens the members are carrying on their own campuses and in war activities. The Association is each year a debtor to the members who serve on these committees and this year not less than in the past.

It is a matter of regret that the funds of the Association do not at present permit allotments for meetings of some of the important committees. Conducting their business by correspondence lays an additional burden upon a committee, and especially upon the chairman.

I shall now briefly summarize the reports that have been submitted. The full text of these reports will be printed in the *Annual Report*.

The report of the Nominating Committee will be presented at the business meeting, and the reports of the committees on the Herbert Baxter Adams and John H. Dunning prizes will be given at the annual dinner. The Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize, Professor Troyer S. Anderson of the State University of Iowa, chairman, reports that there were no manuscripts submitted during the year for the committee's consideration and that there is therefore no award to be made. The Beveridge Memorial Prize is awarded in odd-numbered years and the committee in charge of this prize, Professor Earle D. Ross, chairman, reports

that the committee is giving special attention to methods of eliciting meritorious books and manuscripts, especially those by promising young scholars.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE *Annual Report*

The three following volumes, constituting the *Annual Report* for 1942, have appeared during the past year:

Volume I, containing the Association's proceedings for 1942 and a list of members as of April, 1943; Volume II, containing *Letters from the Berlin Embassy . . . 1871-1874 and 1880-1885*, edited by Paul Knaplund; Volume III, containing papers prepared for the 1942 Chicago meeting but not presented because of war-time cancellation of the meeting and not published elsewhere, edited by Stanley Pargellis.

No back volumes of any previous *Report* are outstanding; all *Reports* through 1942 have been published in their entirety. The status of the *Annual Report* for 1943 is as follows: Volume I, containing the proceedings of the New York meeting (1943) and the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch for 1943, is ready for distribution; Volume II, *Writings on American History for 1939 and 1940*, edited by Grace Griffin and Dorothy Louraine, is in page proof and is being indexed.

A printing credit of \$10,620 has again become available for the current fiscal year beginning July 1, 1944. Through overobligations of \$1,252.94 on estimates on completed jobs not yet billed and on volumes still in manufacture, the current operating balance to the Association's credit at this time is \$9,367.06.

The *Annual Report* for 1944 will consist of three volumes as follows: Volume I, containing proceedings of the Association and of the Pacific Coast Branch for 1944 and an abstract, subject-classified bibliography of all major articles published in the *American Historical Review*, Volumes I through L, compiled by Franklin Scott; Volumes II and III, containing a calendar of American Fur Company Papers, 1831-1849, prepared under the direction of Grace Lee Nute, together with a preface and her article on these papers, published in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1927, reproduced by the offset method from existing typed copy, and in the usual binding.

Owing to Mrs. Louraine's resignation, little more than a start has been made on *Writings on American History for 1941 and 1942*. Presumably the manuscript will be ready by next fall, especially if Miss Griffin, who is burdened with numerous other duties, is provided assistance. Mr. Matteson, who is compiling the cumulative index to *Writings on American History*, and who had completed the letter "O" on all volumes through the 1930 volume before being requested to include the 1931 through 1938 ones, has done so and is now midway through "P" for the entire series. This gigantic project will, according to his estimate, be completed inside of another year, hence publication can apparently be undertaken in 1946. Since no commercial publisher for *Writings on American History* can be found in these days of paper shortage, it appears that the Association must con-

tinue publishing the same as part of the *Annual Report* for an indefinite period, which will, of course, rather seriously limit the committee's publishing program.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND

The Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee, through its capable and hard-working chairman, Professor Richard H. Shryock, reports that it has not accepted any new manuscripts for the monograph series. Despite a comprehensive effort at publicity there was a decided dearth of manuscripts submitted. This emphasizes the point made earlier by another chairman, that there is a decided inconsistency between the complaints about the difficulties of publishing monographs and the failure to submit such studies to the committee.

The committee, however, has been very active in the editing of monographs already accepted in the monograph series. Four manuscripts have been either published, edited, or publication arranged for. The monograph by Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*, accepted in 1942, has been published this fall by the University of Pennsylvania Press, which has now taken over the printing of this series in the place of D. Appleton-Century. In this first volume it has done an excellent job in getting out an attractive volume. Bernstein's *Origins of Inter-American Relations, 1700-1812*, accepted in 1942, has just gone to press. Pomeroy's *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890*, accepted in 1943, is edited and ready for the press. It will come out during 1945. A special arrangement for joint support makes possible the publication through the University of Chicago of the last of the documentary series, Easterby's *Rice Plantation Documents*.

The chairman makes a suggestion that this might be an opportune time to re-examine the work of the committee with a view to either developing a new type of program or some more adequate means of making the present program better known. His report contains some interesting suggestions as to new types of fields and studies.

All members of this committee have served longer than usual. This has been an act of self-sacrifice, at the request of the Association, because they were negotiating with new printers and had a tangled group of previous commitments to clear up. I permit myself here to quote at length from the chairman's review of the past four years of the committee's work under his leadership.

"(1) All old commitments for the original documentary series were cleared up; and one final work prepared for that series is now in press.

"(2) The monograph series, planned under Professor Nichols' chairmanship, was continued. Although, as noted, only four of these studies have been published or are soon to be published, about three times that number of manuscripts were examined. War conditions were at least in part responsible for the relatively small number of works submitted.

"(3) The policy of extending authors' grants-in-aid, for the completion of accepted manuscripts, was discontinued.

"(4) Upon the refusal of the Appleton-Century Company to continue to act as publisher, a satisfactory contract was secured with the University of Pennsylvania Press. In this connection, it was ascertained from the proper Federal office that paper credit for earlier publications belonged to the A.H.A., rather than to Century.

"(5) In an effort to secure better professional publicity for the committee's program, individual letters were sent in 1942 to the chairmen or well-known members of history departments in some fifty colleges and universities throughout the country.

"(6) Through the assistance of Dr. Ford, considerable stocks of earlier publications were sold in 1943 by the device of setting special reduced prices on various volumes.

"(7) A procedure was adopted for speeding up the preparation and publication of the *Writings on American History*, in an effort to bring the appearance of these more nearly up to date. This involved considerable attention, at a time when it was expected that the committee would finance publication as well as editorial costs. As responsibility for publication has since been accepted by the Council, this problem is now no longer in the committee's hands. In financing Miss Griffin's work as editor, however, it has encouraged her to proceed as rapidly as possible."

The Committee on Committees expresses for the Association its appreciation of the labors of the members of this committee and especially those of the retiring chairman.

The financial statement of the committee shows that it is in a sound position and that, although when the bills are paid for the present monographs in the press the balance will not be so large as the preceding year, there will be to its credit several salable volumes, the royalties of which go to maintain the fund.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND FOR PUBLICATIONS

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund, Professor Sidney R. Packard of Smith College, chairman, reports that they have dealt this year with two manuscripts previously accepted for publication. One is awaiting final revision by the author, which revision will probably not be finished until after the war. The second ran to such length that the committee felt the need of additional funds. These have been supplied in part by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Committee on Research in Economic History so that it will appear in 1945 under the imprint of the Cornell University Press as a joint publication. The volume, by Louis Hunter, is entitled *An Economic and Technological History of Steamboating on the Western Waters in the Nineteenth Century*.

A few new manuscripts have been submitted to the committee during the year but in each case the committee has advised the author to resubmit the manuscript later, at the conclusion of the war, when the committee will be ready to resume operations and have the benefit of the widest possible choice. This committee has

faced the difficulty of finding publishers, a difficulty due partly to the character of the publications as primarily contributions to scholarship and partly to the reluctance of publishers not only to take risks but to pledge their diminishing paper supply.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND

Although the work of the committee has been greatly hampered by the war, some progress has nevertheless been made and one meeting of the committee was held.

Dr. Anne K. Gregorie has found new materials for our contemplated volume of equity cases from South Carolina, and has continued her work thereon. Dr. Susie M. Ames has likewise steadily continued work on the Virginia material. We are assured of extremely competent historical editorship for both these volumes. The last step in their preparation, which will soon confront us, will be the study of the materials by their legal editors.

Final editorial work on the Rhode Island equity materials has been begun under very promising arrangements. Dr. John T. Farrell of the College of New Rochelle, who acted most satisfactorily as historical editor of the fourth volume of our series, has agreed to perform the same duties on the Rhode Island volume, and he will be guided by Professor Zechariah Chafee, jr., of the Law School of Harvard University, who is certainly one of the two or three leading American authorities on equity in England and in this country.

Finally, an opportunity has recently unexpectedly arisen to publish a volume of early Maryland county court records, those, namely, of Prince Georges County from 1696 through 1699. An expert transcription of these was made for the Hall of Records Commission of Maryland, but inasmuch as they plan to continue for the present the publication of records of higher courts (of which some half a dozen volumes have already appeared in the Archives of Maryland), the transcript has not been utilized. Our present plan, on the contrary, is to publish county records. Under these circumstances, the Commission (Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, being acquainted with our program) offered us the Prince Georges transcript, with a subvention, for publication by us. This offer we have tentatively accepted. Proper acknowledgment of the Commission's editorial and financial aid will of course be made, and a small number of copies will be specially bound for distribution by the Commission in Maryland.

Since it has long been hoped that local historical societies might co-operate in the work of our committee, this precedent may prove to be one of great importance.

The balance on hand for the committee's work is \$8,645.12, as of August 31, 1944.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, reports that plans under consideration for the enlarging of the scope of the



committee's endeavors were adjourned because of wartime conditions, especially the severe paper stringency. The committee, however, "invites members of the American Historical Association (1) to submit proposals on their particular needs in any field of government publications of special use to them, (2) to accompany their proposals with concrete suggestions as to means for implementing them effectively."

The committee has been active in supporting an effort to give the publication of the Territorial Papers a secure status. At present, it is, and has been for a number of years, an annual struggle to assure Congressional support. If the Department of State could be given the "go ahead" signal to finish the series, it would relieve both the staff and the friends of this historical work of annual appearances before Congressional committees. The committee suggests that the Association go on record in favor of authorization being given the Department of State to continue the series and to do this by resolution addressed to the appropriate committees of the House and the Senate and to the President.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RADIO

Your committee on a radio program giving historical background to current matters has been continued very successfully. NBC, which has contributed Mr. Saerchinger's services and carried the broadcast as a supporting program is anxious to sell the program and the time to a sponsor. A proposal to accept a commercial sponsor having no control over the material used in the broadcast was laid before the committee, which approved the plan overwhelmingly. It was then submitted to the Council of the Association which, by a majority mail or telegraph vote, approved. The Executive Secretary raised the question of compensation to the Association for giving the program. The contract has not been submitted for signature and the matter stands where it did when the Council voted approval.

#### REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE WPA BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Special Committee on the WPA Bibliography, appointed in 1942, reports, through its chairman, Mr. Everett E. Edwards, that it feels "that it is impracticable to complete the work on this bibliography and to print it in wartime" and urges, therefore, that the "committee be discontinued. The Association can provide for another to handle the project after the return of peace if it wishes to do so."

#### REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Our senior delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies reports a number of the varied activities of this organization. Among those of particular interest to the historical group is the important work done by the Council's Committee for the Protection of the Cultural Treasures of Europe. This committee has collected information regarding looted, damaged, and destroyed objects, monuments, and collections; has correlated activities of museum, university, and professional experts, and has formulated general principles of conservation. Due no

doubt in part to the work of this committee and to Mr. Leland's imagination, there is now an American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe. On that Commission five members of the A.C.L.S. committee are serving.

The proposal of Mr. Shryock's committee that a history of science in America should be written in collaboration by a group of experts is now reaching the planning stage. The work is to consist of four volumes and of about twenty-five hundred pages, and pains are being taken to see that the work is more than a series of unrelated monographs, and that the work is done in a historical way. It is agreeable to hear that "trends will be stressed."

The problem of American studies, where the results of research in American history, American literature, American folklore, etc., may be correlated, has received a great deal of discussion, some of it concrete and helpful.

Our delegate has been much impressed with the activities of the American Council and finds encouragement in them for the future of humanistic studies in this country. He is convinced that the academic group should be more widely informed of the varied and effective activities of the Council and of its Director and Assistant Director, Messrs. Leland and Graves. To this your own Executive Secretary, who represents another organization on the Council, can heartily subscribe.

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTATION INSTITUTE

When Mr. T. R. Schellenberg was reappointed for one year, he was asked to make an appraisal of this Institute and advise the Council as to whether the Association should continue appointing a representative. Mr. Schellenberg reports on the latter point that he feels that our representation at the present serves no useful purpose inasmuch as the interest of the Institute is very slight in the social sciences and the humanities. The stress of the organization is upon microphotographic reproduction of materials in the field of science. The organizations representing the humanities are largely decorative. He asks to be relieved of future duties and recommends that no successor be appointed.

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SUPERVISORY BOARD OF THE

##### *American Year Book*

Last year the Council appointed Professor Thomas C. Cochran of New York University to replace the late Professor Albert Bushnell Hart. Professor Cochran was also charged with the task of making an appraisal of the *Year Book* and of the advisability of our maintaining a representative on the board. His report endorses the *Year Book* as a "useful compendium of information that may be of considerable value to historians" and recommends that the Association continue its representation on the supervisory board along with the forty-five other learned societies in various fields.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF  
HISTORICAL SCIENCES

Our senior delegate, Mr. Leland, reports that correspondence and consultations with some other members of the committee have been possible this year as the result of the clearing of France and the presence in this country of Professor C. K. Webster, chairman of the British committee. The approach to postwar activity of the committee will necessarily be slow and in some sectors delicate and difficult. Mr. Leland hopes that the committee can at least go forward with the *International Bibliography*, which has been suspended since the death of Monsieur Marc Jaryc.

## REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE NATIONAL PARKS ASSOCIATION BOARD

Our representative on the National Parks Association Board of Trustees has faithfully watched the points at which he has felt the Historical Association might be interested or helpful. He feels definitely that there would be mutual benefit if members of the profession had more intimate contact with historical sites and areas, which are prime source materials in themselves. National sites and areas, like the great natural areas, need clearly defined standards and our Association can be of help in setting and maintaining such standards.

He further recommends that at an early date there be held such a meeting or conference as was held in 1934 when the whole subject of historical sites was presented in a session presided over by Dr. V. E. Chatelain. Mr. Flickinger, our representative, thinks that the Association's interest in historical sites would justify the appointment of a special committee in this field. Such a committee, if appointed, would need to co-ordinate its work with the Special Committee on Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects, a subcommittee of the Committee on Historical Source Materials.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES ON *Social Education*

The full report of the editor of *Social Education* will be printed in the *Annual Report*. It shows that every effort has been made to economize but that it is difficult to go farther in this direction, and unless advertising and other sources of income increase, the deficit charged against the reserve fund will increase. Your representatives on the executive board can speak only in the highest terms of the magazine and the admirable work of Dr. Erling Hunt in seeking to make it both useful and inspiring to social science teachers.

## REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The report of Professor Roy F. Nichols, as our senior representative on the Social Science Research Council, is brief enough and important enough so that I quote it here in full:

"The activities of the Social Science Research Council during the past year have been of particular interest to historians.

"The work of the committee on the guide to local history has concluded its labors by publishing a manual, *Local History* by Donald D. Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson. This book is designed to stimulate more work of value to social science in general in this basic field.

"The committee on appraisal has been exploring the use of the personal document in various disciplines and is publishing a series of reports. Louis Gottschalk was commissioned to prepare one on 'The Use of the Personal Document in History,' which is now in proof.

"The committee on the control of social data, working through Lester J. Cappon, has been active in arousing interest and co-operation among the various state governments, archives, and libraries in collecting and preserving an adequate record of state participation in the war.

"The committee on economic history has continued its activities under difficulties caused by war demands upon manpower. Its program is emphasizing work on the role of government in American economic development, studies of American politico-economic thought in the 1790's and of economic and business legislation in specific states prior to the Civil War.

"The committee on war studies has been successful in interesting a number of scholars from the various disciplines in pilot studies which are designed to start scholarly interest immediately in the problems of American behavior in time of war. The plans of the committee look forward to promoting a continuing interest which will provide the monographic studies necessary for the future historians of the war.

"The committee on historiography has been considering fundamental problems of historical methodology and means to raise the level of historical thinking and to improve the quality of historical research. It hopes to have its report ready early in the year." See also "Notes and Suggestions" in this issue.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch will be published later in the *Annual Report*.

May I at the close and in lieu of the traditional committee on resolutions express on behalf of the Council and the Association their very real appreciation of the services of the chairman of the Program Committee, Professor William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, and of the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University. Their task has been shared by others who co-operated on their committees and recognition is given them. I need only call your attention to their names, as they are printed in the program of a very successful meeting under adverse conditions.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PRIVATE DINING ROOM NO. 3,  
STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,  
DECEMBER 27, 1944, 2:30 P.M.

Present: William L. Westermann, President; Arthur S. Aiton, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Ralph H. Gabriel, Roy F. Nichols, Councilors; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary.

President Westermann called the meeting to order.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1943 meeting of the Council and of the annual business meeting (which had been published) and the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting on June 24, 1944 (which had been circulated), were approved without being read.

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and commented at some length on the work of the Historical Service Board.

The following matters in the report of the Executive Secretary were made the subject of special discussion and action:

1. It was moved and seconded that a new committee on the WPA bibliography of United States history be appointed to continue an investigation of the feasibility of publishing this material when edited and to submit a budget estimate. Professor Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia, chairman, Mr. C. C. Crittenden of North Carolina, and a third to be named by the chairman, were constituted the new committee.

2. It was voted to discontinue the representation of the American Historical Association on the American Documentation Institute and to continue our representation on the Supervisory Board of the *American Year Book*. Professor Thomas C. Cochran of New York University was reappointed representative to the *Year Book*.

Professor Aiton then presented the report of the Committee on Committees. He explained that under present conditions the committee had thought it advisable not to make too many changes and in the cases of inactive committees to limit new appointments to vacancies caused by resignation. The following list of committees and delegates was thereupon approved by the Council:

*Board of Trustees*.—W. Randolph Burgess, 55 Wall Street, New York City, chairman; Stanton Griffis, Hemphill, Noyes and Company, 15 Broad Street, New York City; Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York City; Leon Fraser, 2 Wall Street, New York City; A. W. Page, 195 Broadway, New York City.

*Board of Editors of the American Historical Review*.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Managing Editor; J. G. Randall, University of Illinois—term expires December, 1945; William E. Lunt, Haverford College—term expires December, 1946; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota—term expires December, 1947; M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University—term expires Decem-

- ber, 1947; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas—term expires December, 1948; Curtis P. Nettels, Cornell University—term expires December, 1949.
- Committee on Committees.*—Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert L. Schuyler, Columbia University.
- Committee on Honorary Members.*—Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Bernadotte Schmitt, University of Chicago.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—J. Duane Squires, Colby Junior College, chairman; V. J. Puryear, 647 D Street, Davis, California; Ross J. S. Hoffman, Fordham University.
- Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—M. B. Garrett, University of North Carolina, chairman; F. Lee Benns, Indiana University; one member to be appointed.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize.*—Earle D. Ross, Iowa State College, chairman; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin; one member to be appointed.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati, chairman; Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; Lawrence Harper, University of California.
- Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.*—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives (ex officio); Louis C. Hunter, American University; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Bernard J. Holm, 535 Kentucky Avenue, S.E., Washington, D. C.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.*—Chairman to be appointed; A. P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania; Dorothy B. Goebel, Hunter College.
- Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Samuel H. Brockunier, jr., Wesleyan University; Raymond P. Stearns, 202 Vermont Avenue, Urbana, Illinois; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Grace A. Cockroft, Skidmore College; Lawrence F. Hill, Ohio State University.
- Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York; Mark D. Howe, University of Buffalo; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary.
- Committee on Government Publications.*—Jeannette Nichols, 438 Riverview Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; Bernard Mayo, University of Virginia.
- Committee on Historical Source Materials.*—Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick His-

torical Association, chairman. *Special Committee on Archives*: Emmett J. Leahy, Navy Department, chairman; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives; Sargent B. Child, Office of Price Administration; Charles M. Gates, University of Washington; Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library; Randolph W. Church, Virginia State Library. *Special Committee on Manuscripts*: Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, chairman; Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; John C. L. Andreassen, W.P.A., New Orleans, Louisiana; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Roger Shugg, University of Indiana; Whitney R. Cross, Cornell University. *Special Committee on Newspapers*: Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, chairman; Allan Nevins, Columbia University; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; Adeline Barry, The National Archives. *Special Committee on Business Records*: Ralph M. Hower, Harvard University, chairman; William D. Overman, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Lewis Atherton, University of Missouri; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College; Guy Lee, The National Archives. *Special Committee on Library Holdings*: Douglas C. McMurtrie, chairman (deceased); Luther H. Evans, Library of Congress; Gilbert H. Doane, University of Wisconsin; A. G. Kuhlman, Vanderbilt University; James A. Barnes, Temple University; George A. Schwegmann, jr., Library of Congress. *Special Committee on Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects*: H. E. Kahler, National Park Service, Department of Interior, Chicago, chairman; Ronald Lee, 17th Serv. Sq., 1st Serv. Group, Fort Dix Air Base, Fort Dix, New Jersey; Russell H. Anderson, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago; Hunter D. Farish (deceased); C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission; Lucille O'Connor Kellar, McCormick Historical Association. *Special Committee on British Sessional Papers*: Edgar L. Erickson, Chemical Warfare Division, Camp Aberdeen, Maryland, chairman; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University, Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles. *Research Associate*: Everett E. Edwards, Department of Agriculture.

*Delegates of the American Historical Association*.—*American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome*: Austin P. Evans, Columbia University—term expires December, 1947; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College—term expires December, 1947. *American Council of Learned Societies*: Wallace Notestein, Yale University—term expires December, 1946; Dixon Ryan Fox (deceased; successor to be appointed). *Representative on American Year Book Supervisory Board*: Thomas C. Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: James T. Shotwell, Columbia University; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies. *Representative on National Parks Association Board*: B.



Floyd Flickinger, Bear Garden Farm, Star Route, Hanover, Virginia—term expires December, 1946. *Representatives on Social Education*: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McA. Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council*: Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1945; Merle E. Curti, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1946; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1947.

The Executive Secretary then presented the following proposal of the Watumull Foundation:

The Watumull Foundation proposes to establish a Prize of \$500 to be awarded triennially by the American Historical Association for the best book originally published in the United States on any phase of the history of India, the first award to be announced at the Annual Meeting of the Association in December, 1945. The Foundation suggests that in making the first award the Committee in Charge of the Prize take into consideration books published during the five year period 1940 to 1944 inclusive. Each subsequent award, beginning with that of 1948, would be limited to books published during the period of three years preceding the year in which the award is made; that is, 1945 to 1947 inclusive for the award of 1948. No award would be made if, in the opinion of the Committee, no eligible book possessed sufficient merit to justify it. The Committee of three or five members to be appointed by the Association would contain one member to be appointed by the Association from a list of three members of the Association which the Watumull Foundation will nominate.

On motion the proposal of the Watumull Foundation was accepted and the appointment of a committee of three referred to the Executive Committee.

The following ad interim appointments of delegates were made during 1944: Mrs. Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr College and Professor Thomas E. Drake of Haverford College were the representatives at the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on April 14 and 15, 1944. Professor Harry G. Plum of the University of Iowa was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Russell David Cole as president of Cornell College on April 25, 1944. Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota was the delegate to the inauguration of Father Flynn as president of St. Thomas College on April 27, 1944. Dr. James A. James of Northwestern University was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Ernest A. Johnson as president of Lake Forest College on May 20, 1944. Dr. Merrill E. Gaddis of Central College was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Harry S. DeVore as president of Central College on May 25, 1944. Miss Shirley Farr of Brandon, Vermont, was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Homer L. Dodge as president of Norwich University on October 9, 1944. Professor Aileen Dunham of Wooster College was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Howard F. Lowry as president of Wooster College on October 21, 1944. Professor Arthur C. Bining of the University of Pennsylvania was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Edwin Ewart Aubrey as president of Crozer Theological Seminary on October 31, 1944. Professor Donald C. Babcock of the University of

New Hampshire was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Harold Walter Stoke as president of the University of New Hampshire on December 17, 1944.

Reporting for the Committee on Honorary Members, of which Dr. Waldo G. Leland is chairman and Professor Bernadotte Schmitt the other member, Mr. Ford presented a list of ten foreign scholars as candidates for election to honorary membership in the American Historical Association. The committee had canvassed the field thoroughly and in some cases the chairman had held conferences of groups familiar with the scholars of special areas.

On motion the following list of honorary members was elected and the Executive Secretary instructed to inform them and in due time to send them some suitable certificate:

Rafael Altamira y Crevea. Historian and jurist; born 1866; has been professor of history of Spanish law in University of Oviedo, professor in the Diplomatic and Consular Institute at Madrid, president of the Ibero-American Institute of Comparative Law, judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague; regarded as one of the most distinguished historians of Spain; was special guest of American Historical Association at twenty-fifth anniversary meeting, 1909; author or editor of *History of Law*, *Compilation of American Constitutions*, *History of Spanish Colonial Institutions*, and *History of Spanish Civilization*.

Domingo Amunátegui y Solar. Professor, historian, publicist; corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid; born 1860; has been professor and dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Chile, rector of the University, and Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and of the Interior; author and editor of many historical works, including *Las encomiendas de indígenas en Chile*, *Historia social de Chile*, *Historia de Chile*, and *El progreso intelectual y política de Chile*.

Pierre Caron. Archiviste paléographe; emeritus director general of the Archives of France; born 1875; has been member of the Comité des Travaux Historiques, secretary of the Commission de l'Histoire Economique de la Revolution; an international leader in historical bibliography; editor of *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies*, and *Repertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France*.

Aage Friis, Ph.D. Emeritus professor of history, University of Copenhagen; born 1870; has been rector of the University of Copenhagen, president of the Danish Historical Society, counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; one of the most distinguished of Scandinavian historians, author and editor of numerous works on Danish history, including *The Question of North Schleswig, 1864-1879* and *Europe, Denmark, and North Schleswig*.

Hu Shih, B.A. (Cornell), Ph.D., LL.D. Historian and philosopher; visiting lecturer, Harvard University; member of Academia Sinica; born 1891; has been professor of philosophy and dean of department of English literature, dean

of College of Arts and Letters, in Peking National University; president of China Institute, Woosung; ambassador to United States; works include *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, *Outline of Chinese Philosophy*, *Ancient History of China*, and *History of Chinese Thought* (in progress).

Johan Huizinga, D.Litt. Professor of history, University of Leiden; president of the Section of Letters, Royal Academy of Sciences; born 1872; member of the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations; leading Dutch historian; works include *Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), *Erasmus* (1924), *America As It Lives and Thinks* (1927), *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (1930), *In the Shadow of Tomorrow* (1936), and *Homo Ludens* (1938).

Albert Frederick Pollard, M.A., Litt.D. Emeritus director of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London; born 1869; has been professor of constitutional history, University of London; fellow of All Souls, Oxford; founder and president of the Historical Association; founder of the Institute of Historical Research; Goldwin Smith Lecturer in Cornell University; assistant editor, *Dictionary of National Biography*; originator and organizer of the Anglo-American Historical Conferences, leader in development of professional relations between American and British historians; author and editor of many works and articles, including *Life of Thomas Cranmer* (1904), *Factors in Modern History* (1907), *Political History of England*, Vol. V (1910), *Evolution of Parliament* (1920), and *Factors in American History* (1925).

Afonso de Escragno Taunay. Director of the Paulista Museum, São Paulo; born 1876; member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute; author and editor of many historical works, including *Historia geral das bandeiras*, *Historia seiscentista da villa de São Paulo*, and *Collectanea de documentos da antiga cartographia paulista*.

George Macaulay Trevelyan, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; born 1876; has been Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge; author of many historical works, including *England under the Stuarts*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911), *Life of John Bright* (1913), *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1922), *History of England* (1926), *England under Queen Anne* (1930-35), *Grey of Falloden* (1936), and *The English Revolution, 1688-1689* (1938).

George Mackinnon Wrong, M.A., LL.D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada; emeritus professor of history, University of Toronto; born 1860; author of *The British Nation: A History* (1903), *The Earl of Elgin* (1905), *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* (1908), *The Fall of Canada* (1914), *The Conquest of New France* (1918), *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* (1920), *The Rise and Fall of New France* (1928), *Canada and the American Revolution* (1934), and *The Canadians: The Story of a People* (1938).

As the term of membership of the Committee on Honorary Members had not been set at the time when the committee was constituted in 1943, a motion was made and carried that the term of the committee be for the period of three years, present members serving from December, 1943, to December, 1946.

On motion the present members of the Executive Committee were re-elected for one year. The membership is as follows: Arthur M. Schlesinger, chairman; Ralph H. Gabriel, J. Salwyn Schapiro, Carl Stephenson, Solon J. Buck, Treasurer, and Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary, *ex officio*.

In the absence of Dr. Solon J. Buck, his report as Treasurer was briefly summarized by Mr. Ford. It will be printed in full in the *Annual Report*. In substance it indicated that the finances of the Association were in a healthy condition.

The last matter before the Council was the consideration of the annual meeting for 1945. It was determined to follow the cycle, which would bring the meeting in 1945 to Washington, D. C. Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University was named chairman of the Program Committee and Dean E. L. Kayser of George Washington University, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee. Authority was given to the Executive Committee to modify all arrangements to fit any contingency that might arise during the year. See page 664.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SOUTH BALLROOM,  
STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,  
DECEMBER 28, 1944, 3:45 P.M.

The annual business meeting of the American Historical Association, held in the South Ballroom of the Stevens Hotel in Chicago, was called to order by President Westermann.

The motion was made to approve without reading the minutes of the meeting in 1943, as they had already been printed and circulated.

Mr. Ford then read his report as Executive Secretary and summarized the reports from the chairmen of the various committees and the delegates and representatives of the Association to other meetings (pp. 643-55).

In the absence of the Treasurer, the essential parts of his report were presented by the Executive Secretary. The motion was made to accept the report and place it on file. Approved. (The report will be published in full in the *Annual Report* for 1944, Volume I, *Proceedings*.)

The nomination of A. W. Page to continue his membership on the Board of Trustees for another term was presented, and he was re-elected by the Association.

For the information of the Association the Executive Secretary reported on the following interesting actions taken by the Council:

The choice of ten additional honorary members; the approval of the proposal of the Watumull Foundation to support a prize for the best work on the history

of India, to be awarded by a committee of the American Historical Association; the discontinuance of representation on the American Documentation Institute; the continuance of representation on the Supervisory Board of the *American Year Book*; the re-election for the coming year of the present Executive Committee; the roster of committees, delegates, and representatives chosen by the Council; and the selection by the Council of Washington as the place for the next meeting, Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University as chairman of the Program Committee and Dean E. L. Kayser of George Washington University as chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and the empowering by Council of the Executive Committee to modify all arrangements to fit any contingency that might arise during the year. (These matters are given in full in the minutes of the Council, pp. 656-62.)

In the absence of Professor Julius Pratt, chairman of the Nominating Committee, its report was presented by Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas. The committee had received 332 mail ballots by the final date, December 20. A tabulation showed the election of the following from names submitted by the committee:

Members of the Council (two to be chosen)—Miss Laura A. White of the University of Wyoming and Professor Ralph H. Lutz of Stanford University.

Members of the Nominating Committee (three to be chosen)—Professors Edward M. Earle of Princeton University and Max H. Savelle of Stanford University.

For the third place on the Nominating Committee there was a tie with 165 votes for each of two nominees. This necessitated a written ballot at this meeting. The results, believe it or not, were 71 votes for one nominee and 69 for the other. A change of one vote would have produced a second tie. Professor Frank J. Klingberg was elected. The other members of the Nominating Committee are Professor Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina, chairman, and Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas.

The president, vice president, and treasurer are elected at the business meeting. The committee nominated for these offices Professors Carlton J. H. Hayes, Sidney B. Fay, and Dr. Solon J. Buck respectively. Professor Malin stated that the chairman had received within the prescribed time limit a written petition from more than the required twenty members submitting the name of Professor Fay for the office of president. Professor Arthur Schlesinger then read a letter from Professor Fay, dated December 23, strongly deprecating the grounds on which the petitioners had acted and declining to accept if he were nominated for the presidency. Professor W. M. Gewehr made an extended statement in explanation of the position of the petitioners. The presiding officer, Professor Westermann, although stating that in his view, under a correct interpretation of Professor Fay's letter, there was only one candidate for the presidency, that presented by the Nominating Committee, assented to the call for a written ballot. Professor Hayes was elected president for the ensuing year by a vote of 110 to 66. Professor Gewehr closed the

incident by a statement for his group that they accepted the result with undiminished loyalty to the Association.

In the absence of any representative from the Pacific Coast Branch, Mr. Ford read an excerpt from the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Hardin Craig, jr.

At the call for new business, Mrs. Jeannette Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, presented the following resolutions:

Whereas, the ever-increasing significance of the foreign relations of the United States makes it of more and more importance that adequate material on our foreign policies be made available to the American public in general and to the historical profession in particular:

Therefore, be it Resolved, that the American Historical Association reaffirm its continued interest in the publications of the Department of State and urge that that Department make its documentation of past policy more nearly up to date, and its documentation of current policy and of the great international events of the year as full and revealing as the public interest permits.

Whereas, in times such as these our people need a more complete understanding of the democratic bases upon which the United States was founded and whereas such understanding is made possible in larger degree by publication of the records of our territorial development and whereas it would be highly undesirable to leave so valuable a record incomplete:

Therefore, be it Resolved, that the American Historical Association urge prompt passage by Congress of the bill authorizing the completion of the publication of the Territorial Papers.

They were unanimously approved.

The meeting was one of the best-attended of any held in recent years.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

## American Historical Association

Since the Council of the Association at its meeting on December 27 fixed on Washington for the meeting in 1945, the Office of Defense Transportation has taken definite action limiting meetings involving the attendance of fifty or more out-of-town participants. Meetings requiring travel for more than the above number must have the approval of the ODT. Only two of the first 110 applications (up to January 22) were approved. Fortunately the Council gave its Executive Committee full authority to meet such a contingency. If there is no relaxing of travel restrictions, the December meeting could take the same form it did in 1942, when the two-day program was canceled and only a Council meeting, a business meeting, and the annual dinner were held. Both had almost a normal attendance because of the large number of members in military and civilian service or resident in Washington. The Program Committee will be asked to make at

least tentative plans so that a two-day meeting may be held if there is no conflict with the then prevailing regulations concerning civilian travel.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO MEMBERS

In conformity with the provisions of the Constitution governing the choice of elected officers of the American Historical Association, the Nominating Committee invites members of the Association to submit by signed letter their suggestions for nominations for the offices of president, vice president, treasurer, members of the Executive Council (two to be elected), and members of the Nominating Committee (two to be elected). Members may, of course, suggest more than one name for the same office. All such suggestions are to be regarded as in the nature of advice to the Nominating Committee.

Listed below are the present officers of the Association, the elected members of the Executive Council, and the members of the Nominating Committee, with indication of the members of the Council and the Committee who are to be replaced this year.

*Officers of the Association*

President .....	Carlton J. H. Hayes
Vice President .....	Sidney B. Fay
Treasurer .....	Solon J. Buck

*Elected Members of Executive Council*

*Carl Stephenson .....	(term expires 1945)
*Arthur S. Aiton .....	(term expires 1945)
J. S. Schapiro .....	(term expires 1946)
Ralph H. Gabriel .....	(term expires 1946)
Roy F. Nichols .....	(term expires 1947)
Robert L. Schuyler .....	(term expires 1947)
Ralph H. Lutz .....	(term expires 1948)
Laura A. White .....	(term expires 1948)

*Nominating Committee*

*Loren C. MacKinney .....	(term expires 1945)
*James C. Malin .....	(term expires 1945)
Edward M. Earle .....	(term expires 1946)
Frank J. Klingberg .....	(term expires 1946)
Max Savelle .....	(term expires 1946)

Letters should be mailed before July 1, 1945, and addressed to the Executive Secretary, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C., or to the chairman of the Nominating Committee, Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

\*Members to be replaced this year (1945).



The committee appointed to award the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for 1945 desires to call attention to the terms of the award. This prize, which carries a stipend of \$200, is awarded in the odd-numbered years for a book or manuscript on the history of the United States or of other countries of the Western Hemisphere. Entries for the 1945 competition must be submitted prior to June 1, 1945. By the rules of the competition, printed works can be considered for the 1945 prize only if the date of publication falls between December 1, 1942, and June 1, 1945. Entries should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Professor Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. The terms of the competition, as defined by the American Historical Association, follow:

In awarding these prizes, the committee in charge will consider not only research accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

All work submitted in competition for these prizes must be in the hands of the prize committee on or before June 1 of the year in which the award is made. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must fall within a period of two and one-half years prior to June 1 of the year in which the prize is awarded.

A list of members of the American Historical Association in 1887 from the papers of John Nicolay, secretary and biographer of Lincoln, shows the following officers: William F. Poole of the Newberry Library, President; Charles Kendall Adams and John Jay, vice-presidents; Herbert B. Adams, secretary; and Clarence Bowen, Treasurer. The additional members of the Council are Andrew D. White, George Bancroft, Justin Winsor, Rutherford B. Hayes, William Wirt Henry, John W. Burgess, and Arthur M. Wheeler. The first seven names in the list of members are Adams, Charles Francis; Adams, Brooks; Adams, Charles Kendall; Adams, George B.; Adams, Henry; Adams, Henry Carter; Adams, Herbert B. Despite the fact that every one of these and many another Adams found a place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, or because of it, one is reminded of the little girl who announced to her mother that she did not like American history because it was all cluttered up with Adamsses.

As a result of the announcement in the January issue of available volumes of the *Annual Report*, requests for over one thousand volumes have come in. This is a gratifying result and will leave relatively few volumes to be turned in by the Government Printing Office for paper salvage.

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: Sammatite stone seal, Egyptian, eighteenth dynasty (1500 B. C.) found at

the great Temple of Amon Ra; handwritten copies of letters and documents of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, or relating to him, 1595–1646, accumulated by the late James Phinney Baxter; additional photocopies of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries, mainly relating to the Yucatan region, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; one box of photostats of wills, deeds, and other documents pertaining to Thomas Ward and other persons of Massachusetts and Connecticut; photostats of three letters from George Washington, 1775, 1797, 1798; letter from Admiral Samuel Barrington to Lord Macartney, December 24, 1778; microfilm reproductions of papers of Thomas Jefferson, mainly letters from Jefferson to Albert Gallatin (New York Historical Society), 1779 to 1826; twenty-seven papers of Guy Atkinson, mainly letters of members of the Atkinson family, 1781 to 1835; twelve items pertaining to the trade of the Philippine Company and the East India Company in the Philippine Islands, 1784 to 1809; four additional boxes of the papers of James McHenry, 1790 to 1810; a letter from James Monroe to Mr. Pinkerton, October 14, 1806; two account books of Andrew Johnson, 1829 to 1860; letter, relating to work of missionaries in Hawaii from Charlotte C. Knapp to Adelia Mend, August 19, 1837; scrapbook of John Dean Caton, *c.* 1837 to 1866; letter from Edward Everett to Asbury Dickins, November 10, 1838; memorandum book of J. A. Arnold, 1840 to 1886; one box of the papers of Friedrich Kapp, 1842 to 1884 (restricted); letter from Colonel Henry Stanton to James Warrin, May 29, 1846; certificate of Moses Yale Beach's citizenship by J. M. Storms, February 4, 1847; letter (facsimile) from Daniel Webster to Daniel S. Dickinson, September 27, 1850; letter from John Tyler to Dr. William H. Gardiner, May 21, 1852; photostats of agreement between Perry Blackburn and Lincoln and Lamon, February 11, 1853, and of receipt of De Loss Warren to Lincoln and Lamon, August 3, 1854; letter from Thomas Hart Benton to Martin Van Buren, undated; photostats of four letters from Thaddeus Stevens to Colonel L. Blanchard, 1855 to 1862; W. M. Osborne's "Reminiscences of Berea," Ohio, August 25, 1857; one box of the papers of Major James Jenkins Gillette, 1857 to 1887; letter from Abraham Lincoln to George B. McClellan, April 9, 1862; letter press copies, Office of Engineers, on Defense of Washington, South of the Potomac, May 9, 1862, to June 8, 1865, one volume; note from Abraham Lincoln to William Windom, March 30, 1864; a handwritten copy of the "History of the 28th Regiment of N. Y. S. Volunteers, Army of the United States" during the Civil War, also a collection of badges and reunion programs; a collection of thirteen letters and other autograph signatures of American statesmen and others, 1880–1937, one volume; letter from James A. Garfield to William Windom, March 31, 1881; sixteen additional boxes of papers of the Riggs family, *c.* 1887 and later; two additional papers of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain; typewritten copies of twenty-eight letters from Emma C. Folsom, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, and Francis F. Cleveland to Mrs. Don Dickinson, 1888 to 1900; two boxes of the papers of Albert Payson Terhune, *c.* 1890 to 1941; minutes and accounts of the District of Columbia Library Association, 1894 to 1921; four volumes of typewritten copies of notes

and unpublished writings of Edward Bellamy; photostats of letter from John McRea to Carleton Noyes, May 31, 1916, and a manuscript copy of "In Flanders Fields"; fourteen additional papers of William Howard Taft (restricted); additional papers of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, including the original draft and revised copies of his inaugural address, March 4, 1933, and other addresses, 1932 to 1944; papers of Captain Eric Erskine Loch, pertaining to the Andes-Amazon Expedition, 1935 to 1937; additional papers of the Honorable Henry Agard Wallace, 1941 to 1944 (restricted); radio scripts, typewritten and mimeographed, of Raymond Gram Swing, 1936 to 1944, in thirty boxes; photostats of five letters to Cyril Clemens, 1939 to 1943; notebook of a narrative and poem "When We Landed the Yanks at Oran" by Robert Thomson, July 8, 1944; printed, typewritten, and mimeograph copies of thirty-two additional letters from Douglas Cockerell to his brother, T. D. A. Cockerell, 1940 to 1944; eight additional letters and photographs in the Robley D. Stevens collection, 1944; autobiographical letter from Charles P. Chase to Honorable Guy M. Gillette, July 31, 1944; and four additional papers of Archibald MacLeish, 1944; and papers of, or collected by Victor Selden Clark.

Closer relations between archivists and archival institutions in the Western Hemisphere are being made possible by grants for internships or fellowships at the National Archives. The Abbé Honorious Provost, for the last eight years assistant archivist at the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec and Laval University, has received such a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Through the Interdepartmental Committee for Cooperation with the American Republics, funds have been made available for instituting a long-range program for bringing Latin-American archivists to the United States to work in the National Archives and to become acquainted with North American practices. Such fellowships are being offered to archivists in Chile, Cuba, and Mexico.

The National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records are co-operating in the presentation of a short training course on the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of institutional and business archives to be offered by the American University in Washington, D. C., from June 11 to June 30.

Records relating to military affairs continue to predominate among National Archives accessions. Material received recently from the Navy Department includes Naval Intelligence records, among which are reports on subversive activities during World War I, files of the *Japan Advertiser*, and reports and other records of naval attachés at various diplomatic posts, 1917-33; records of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, 1827-1926, and the New York Navy Yard, 1842-1922; and records relating to the operation of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company at Kearny, New Jersey, by the Navy Department, 1941-42. The War Department material received consists largely of field records and includes correspondence, maps, and other records of district engineers at Providence, 1800-1921; Albany,

1820-1940; New York City, 1864-1934; Pittsburgh, 1890-1940; and Philadelphia, 1893-1936; and records of Army commands, such as Fort Adams and headquarters of the Coast Defenses of Narragansett Bay, 1865-1917, Forts Banks, Andrews, Strong, and Warren, 1866-1915, and Fort Huachuca and headquarters of the 25th Infantry, 1867-1929.

Materials acquired recently by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library include manuscripts, photographs, and prints relating to United States naval history; pamphlets and broadsides used in recent Democratic presidential campaigns; and sound recordings, motion pictures, photographs, and books on subjects connected with the present war. From the President was received a gift of some three hundred letters and twenty-two journals and notebooks of Commodore David Conner (1792-1856), commander of the Gulf Squadron during the war with Mexico. The papers cover the years 1812-55 and touch upon every important period of Conner's life, from his service aboard the *Hornet* in the War of 1812 to his operations against the Mexican ports in the summer and fall of 1846. Some of the letters and most of the journals relate to his family and professional life in Philadelphia, where he was assigned to the Navy Yard, and in Washington, as an official of the Navy Department. They contain much material on the social history of the period. Other naval history items received from the President include a number of prints, engravings, and photographs of United States war vessels from the period of the Civil War to the present.

From Miss Mary W. Dewson, formerly director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, were received correspondence, pamphlets, broadsides, copies of speeches, and programs of meetings, conferences, and dinners relating to the activities of the Women's Division in the presidential campaigns of 1936, 1940, and 1944. Recordings of speeches made by the President during the recent campaign and motion pictures used for campaign purposes were received from the Democratic National Committee. Materials relating to the war include a recording of all news reports and commentaries broadcast by the NBC on D-day; Signal Corps photographs of the invasion of Normandy; portrait photographs of fifty-three high-ranking United Nations civil and military leaders; and motion pictures of important events in which the President has figured during the past two years.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the Library, has returned to the United States from a second mission to the European theater of operations. Under auspices of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, he visited both Italy and France to survey the situation and to make recommendations with reference to the protection and use of records in occupied territory.

The New-York Historical Society of 170 Central Park West, New York City, has announced its intention to publish its General Horatio Gates Papers in a series of eleven or twelve volumes. The important decade of the Revolution accounts for the bulk of the material, with some five thousand letters to and from Gates,

including 148 letters from Washington alone. Although this is by far the largest and most important collection of Gates material in existence, several hundred Gates letters and related documents have been located in a dozen other libraries. In order that the society's publication may be as definitive as possible, an attempt will be made to arrange for the inclusion of such material in the projected volumes. The editor of the society will welcome information from any source concerning other extant Gates material, particularly in private collections.

The collection of Thurlow Weed Papers deposited with the library of the University of Rochester has been enriched by eighty letters from Weed to Seward. They were found in an old trunk in the attic of the Seward mansion in Auburn. The find increases considerably the number of letters written by Weed himself. They cover the years from 1848 to 1868 in a frank and intimate way.

The Illinois Central Railroad Company recently deposited in the Newberry Library several tons of records from 1851, the year of its charter, to 1906, the end of the presidency of Stuyvesant Fish. It is a remarkable collection, containing a practically unbroken file of the correspondence of the presidents of the road. Unlike most great corporations, the Illinois Central never had a disastrous fire. Most of the material is bound in volume form and will therefore be fairly easy for scholars to use. The material is open on approval of the librarian to qualified applicants with matured plans for research.

In addition to its usual awards of predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships and grants-in-aid of research, the Social Science Research Council announces demobilization awards. These awards are especially intended to aid scholars in the fields of the social sciences whose careers either in training or research have been disrupted by service in the armed forces or by other war service. Eligibility is limited to men and women under thirty-six years of age who are citizens of the United States or Canada and have received either the doctoral degree or made outstanding records as advanced graduate students in social science. Stipends will be adjusted to individual needs. Great flexibility is given in beginning and distributing the time in residence of holders of the awards, *e.g.* successive summer schools or two nonconsecutive academic terms or a half-time arrangement. Inquiries should be directed to Miss Laura Barrett, Secretary to the Committees, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Czechoslovak State Prize for Literature for 1943 was presented to Dr. S. Harrison Thomson at a reception held in honor of Vladimir S. Hurban, envoy to the United States from the Czechoslovak Government in London, and Dr. Thomson at the University Club, New York, on December 30. Dr. Thomson, who is a professor at the University of Colorado and editor of the *Journal of Central European Affairs*, received the prize for his book *Czechoslovakia in European History*. This was the third time that this award has been given by the Czechoslovak Government in London to express its appreciation of works in which the

Czechoslovak people are interpreted by authors abroad. Before the war, the prize was annually awarded to outstanding writers of Czech, Slovak, and German nationality.

Stanford University has established a "Symposium on American Studies," under the auspices of the School of Humanities, to bring together specialists from a wide variety of fields within the university, all of whose studies bear upon either the history or the current problems of the United States. The all-university committee in charge is headed by a historian, Professor Arthur E. Bestor, jr. Papers will be presented twice a month to a faculty-student group. The first four announced speakers are from the Graduate School of Business and the departments of chemistry, English, and history.

The first series of the William W. Cook lectures on American institutions was delivered December 4-8, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, by Professor Carl L. Becker. The themes of the five lectures were the American political tradition, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of learning and teaching, constitutional government, and private economic enterprise.

A Civil War Round Table has been formed in Chicago. The membership consists of writers, students, collectors, and others interested in the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln. Monthly meetings are held at which papers are read and discussed. Ralph Newman, 16 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, is the secretary.

The *Publishers' Weekly* in its annual summary of American book production in 1944 reports under "History" 475 new titles and 55 reprints as against 465 new titles and 74 reprints in 1943. The corresponding figures for British production are 213 and 31 for 1944, 192 and 20 for 1943, and 161 and 19 for 1942.

## Personal

Dixon Ryan Fox died of a sudden heart attack at Ellis Hospital in Schenectady, New York, on January 30. But fifty-seven years of age, he had gained a distinguished reputation as a historian, editor, and educator. Thirteen universities conferred honorary degrees upon him. His sparkling wit and courtly manner made him a favorite among his historical colleagues, and he was always much sought after as an after-dinner speaker. Born in Potsdam, New York, on December 7, 1887, he received his higher education at Columbia University, winning his Ph.D. in 1917. He taught in the history department of his alma mater from 1912 to 1934, after which he served as president of Union College until his death. In 1927-28 he was director of the American University Union in London, lecturing in eighteen British colleges and universities in connection with his duties. As a historian he displayed a keen and fruitful interest in local as well as national history, and in the dissemination of historical knowledge through museums,

motion pictures, and the radio as well as through conventional scholarly channels. From 1929 on, he found time in a very busy life to serve as president of the New York State Historical Association. Perhaps his best-known publications are *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (1919); *Ideas in Motion* (1935), a group of interpretative essays showing the imaginative quality of his mind; and *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830* (1944), written with John A. Krout. The last work is Volume V of the *History of American Life*, which he had planned and edited in collaboration with Arthur M. Schlesinger. He also acted as general editor of a series of college textbooks in American history, published by F. S. Crofts and Company. He is survived by his wife, the daughter of the late Herbert L. Osgood, and by two sons.

Clyde Augustus Duniway died at the Palo Alto Hospital, Stanford University, California, on December 24, 1944. He was seventy-eight years of age, and since his retirement from teaching at Carleton College (Minnesota) in 1937, had made his home on the Stanford University campus. It was a return to the scenes of his early teaching career, for he had become a member of the history faculty of Stanford University upon the completion of his graduate work at Harvard in 1897, and had continued a member until his election as president of the University of Montana in 1908. He had left Montana to become president of the University of Wyoming in 1912, and in 1917 he became president of Colorado College, serving there until 1924, when he returned to teaching as professor of history at Carleton College. Throughout all of these years, his academic interest remained in history, and his greatest attention was given to men and women in the profession of teaching. The meticulous care which he gave to detail was seen in his useful *Handbook of Graduate Courses*, first published in 1895. He published *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* in 1906, and *Daniel Webster* (American Secretaries of State Series) in 1927. During his retirement he had prepared under university assignment a *History of Stanford University in World War I*, which was unpublished at the time of his death. He was working, as well, upon the diary and letters of his mother, Abigail Scott Duniway. This was of great interest to him, for despite his college education at Cornell University, where he graduated in 1892, and his graduate studies at Harvard and advanced studies in Germany, he retained a hearty interest in the life and customs of the American west of his youth and young manhood. He was born in Oregon and knew from his own experiences the actual life of the farm and ranching frontier. At times there was some incongruity in the fact that tales of the rough experiences of western frontier life came from the lips of this soft-spoken gentleman who seemed always to symbolize the dignity of academic tradition. He prized highly his long membership upon the board of electors of the Hall of Fame. His bequests for scholarships and books to Stanford University, to the University of California, to the University of Wyoming, and to Cornell University all marked with fine distinction and deep



devotion the passing of a sound scholar, a constructive educator, and a sturdy gentleman.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft, who had been a member of the Association since 1888, died in Washington, February 22. He was born October 30, 1860. To his undergraduate training at Amherst and his doctorate from Columbia (1885) he added several years of study in German universities and in the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques* in Paris. He took up his residence in Washington in 1888 as librarian of the State Department until 1892. Washington had been his home ever since with tours of duty as lecturer in history at Amherst, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Chicago. Aside from a memorial volume to his brother, Edgar Bancroft, who was ambassador to Japan in 1924-25, Dr. Bancroft's chief publications were a two-volume *Life of William H. Seward* (with William A. Dunning), *The Public Life of Carl Schurz* (1908), and an edition in six volumes of Schurz correspondence and public speeches. His other works were concerned principally with the South and include *The Negro in Politics* (1885), *Calhoun and the Nullification Movement in South Carolina* (1928), and *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (1931). Dr. Bancroft never married and for many years had lived at the Metropolitan Club in Washington. Burial was in Galesburg, Illinois, his birthplace.

Hunter Dickinson Farish, director of the department of research of Colonial Williamsburg since 1937, died on January 16 at his home in Beatrice, Alabama. In spite of warnings from his physician a year ago, he had continued his work in his department until the thirty-first of last December. His association with Colonial Williamsburg had not ended, however, since that organization had arranged for him to continue research, which he had already begun, when his health should permit. Dr. Farish was born in Montgomery, Alabama, September 12, 1897. He attended Dallas Academy at Selma and Wilcox County High School at Camden, Alabama. His undergraduate work was taken at Princeton University and his graduate work at Harvard—A.M., 1926, Ph.D., 1936. After receiving his master's degree, he was for several years assistant professor of history at Westminster College (Pennsylvania). From 1936 to 1937 he was a tutor and instructor at Harvard and at Radcliffe College. While associated with Colonial Williamsburg he was visiting professor at the College of William and Mary in 1939. Dr. Farish was an enthusiastic and able scholar. His doctoral dissertation at Harvard was later published under the title, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865 to 1900* (Richmond, 1938). As director of research of Colonial Williamsburg he originated and was the general editor of the *Colonial Williamsburg Historical Studies* (formerly *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies*). Three volumes of the series have been published. He also assisted in working out the plans for the organization of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, which is sponsored jointly by the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg. The death of Dr. Farish is a grievous loss to

his many friends and will be keenly felt by his associates and all those interested in colonial American history.

Maurice Georges Paléologue, French diplomat, ambassador to Russia during the last war, author, and member of the French Academy, died in Paris on November 21. He was eighty-five years old. Among his books which have been published in this country are *Ambassador's Memoirs*, *Cavour*, *The Tragic Empress*, and *The Enigmatic Czar: The Life of Alexander I*.

Philip Guedalla, British historian, biographer, and essayist, died December 16 in London at the age of fifty-five. Educated at Rugby School and Balliol College, Oxford, he became a barrister in the Inner Temple in 1913 but retired from the practice of law in 1923 to devote the rest of his life to writing. During the first World War he served as legal adviser to one of the British contract departments. In 1917 he helped to organize the Flax Control Board and was its secretary until 1920. In the early days of the present war he made a good will tour of America, and in 1943, as an RAF squadron leader, he traveled twenty thousand miles by air in the Middle East to gather material about the influence of air power. At his death he was an honorary director of the Ibero-American Institute of Great Britain, chairman of the Ibero-American and Films committees of the British Council, and a member of the Cinematograph Films Council of the Board of Trade. His writings, which show distinct ability to make personalities vivid, include *The Partition of Europe, 1715-1815* (1914), *Palmerston* (1926), *Conquistador* (1927), *Gladstone and Palmerston* (1928), *The Queen and Mr. Gladstone* (1933), *The Hundred Days* (1924), *The Hundred Years* (1940), *Mr. Churchill: A Portrait* (1941), *The Liberators* (1942), and *The Two Marshals, Bazaine and Pétain* (1943).

Godfrey Rathbone Benson, first Baron Charnwood, died February 3 in London in his eightieth year. Lord Charnwood was best known in this country for his excellent one-volume life of Abraham Lincoln (1916) and for a life of Theodore Roosevelt (1923).

Wallace M. True, assistant professor of history in the Florida State College for Women, died November 17, 1944.

Philip Ainsworth Means, author of many books on ancient South American civilization, died November 24 at the age of fifty-two.

Hulbert Footner, author of thirty-six books, many of his earlier works adventure and mystery stories, died on November 25 at the age of sixty-five. Some of his more recent books include *New York: City of Cities*, *Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Joshua*, *Maryland Main and Eastern Shore*, *The Death of a Saboteur*, and *Rivers of the Eastern Shore*.

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, announces the appointment of Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wis-

consin as its first visiting professor to the leading universities of India. Professor Curti will leave for India some time in the middle of 1945.

Professor Dixon Wecter of the University of California has accepted an invitation from the University of Sydney to give a series of lectures on American history. He will leave for Australia in April.

Fulmer Mood began work on January 1 as special assistant to the president of the University of California. His function will be to plan and conduct a survey of the printed materials in the libraries of the eight campuses of the university, with a view to the formulation of a comprehensive acquisitions plan for the post-war period. Dr. Mood has recently been in Washington on a war service appointment, where he acted as chief of the archives section, Historical Division, AC/AS Intelligence, Army Air Forces Headquarters.

J. Fred Rippy, professor of American history at the University of Chicago, has been appointed the Walker Ames visiting professor at the University of Washington, Seattle, for the spring quarter.

Howard H. Peckham, curator of manuscripts at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, has been appointed director of the Indiana Historical Bureau to succeed the late Dr. Christopher B. Coleman. Mr. Peckham has assumed his new duties which include the editing of the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin* as well as the documentary material in the Indiana Historical Collection, acting as secretary to the Indiana Historical Society and serving in an advisory capacity to the State Archives Commission and to the state librarian in regard to the purchase of historical material.

Thomas E. Drake, curator of the Quaker Collection of Haverford College, has been appointed editor of the *Bulletin* of the Friends Historical Association for a two-year term.

Joseph W. Ellison has been appointed head of the department of history in Oregon State College, following the resignation of Dr. E. V. Vaughn. New appointments to the department are C. C. Hulley, R. W. Smith, and Sidney Phillips.

Robert Leroy Hilldrup, formerly professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College, has been appointed professor of history at the Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia.

## Communications

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reading the extremely interesting Bryce-Jameson correspondence published in the January number of the Review, I find that Mr. Stock thought it worth while to include Bryce's note of acknowledgment to Jameson for sending him "the little essay on Kansas." This reminded me that at the same time Jameson sent a copy

of the little essay to another valued friend, and from him received also a note of acknowledgment. The other friend was Henry Adams. Since the note is pure Henry Adams, and adds something to the gaiety of nations, which is especially needed just now, it occurred to me that your readers might be interested in seeing it. Here it is.

Sincerely yours,

CARL BECKER.

1603 H STREET.

MY DEAR MR. JAMESON.

Of course I have at once read the paper of Professor Becker, which is charming. If I were he, I should be a little afraid of indulging so freely my fancy for humor, but to elderly men somewhat desperately bored by commonplaces, humor is the single redeeming chance of literature, and they lap it up like a thirsty dog. A light touch is to them the finger of God. Even poor dear Emerson, whose sense of humor was extremely diluted, and who could see none in Aristophanes, was said to define God as infinite risibility, and this is one of the aphorisms which greatly reconciles me to Emerson's very homeopathic deity. Professor Becker shaves dangerously near laughing at us now and then. I enjoy not only the laugh, but also the restraint which holds it back. . . . I do not know whether it is possible to do battle with the Philistine in American Universities, but I earnestly hope he will try. Yet, no! I would be his friend, and I wish him no serious wrong.

Ever yrs.

HENRY ADAMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

An unintentional disservice is sometimes done an able man by placing his title to remembrance upon grounds which, though perhaps related to the true basis of his distinction, are in themselves untenable. In my opinion Dr. Chester M. Destler has done Henry Demarest Lloyd precisely this disservice in his recent paper on that writer in the *American Historical Review* (October, 1944). He treats Lloyd as a sober, judicious, and absolutely veracious historian of American industry. In doing so he challenges a thesis which I presented as a minor element in my recent two-volume work on John D. Rockefeller:<sup>1</sup> the thesis that Lloyd was an efficient and in some respects useful propagandist, but a signally untrustworthy historian. To this challenge an answer is required. While a thorough examination of the many inaccuracies, partisan misrepresentations, and other deficiencies of Lloyd's *Wealth against Commonwealth* would occupy an inordinate amount of space, I wish to offer some proofs of Lloyd's weaknesses, with special attention to those points at which Mr. Destler criticizes my examination of the book. That Lloyd was too biased, too limited of view, too abusive, too prone to suppress facts adverse to his side of controversial cases, and too blundering in economic fields to make a dependable historian would be questioned by few who have read him in the light of an expert knowledge of our economic record; but general readers may perhaps desire a demonstration.

Mr. Destler begins with the vaunting remark that Lloyd had a "more penetrating mind" than Lord Bryce. Fortunately, this need not be taken seriously. The

<sup>1</sup> *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*. It may be noted that this book was issued in absolute independence, without subsidy to publisher and author; and that its tone is critical throughout.

world has long since determined to measure the gifts of the author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, *The American Commonwealth*, and *Modern Democracies* by a much ampler measure than that supplied by H. D. Lloyd. More important is Mr. Destler's assertion that Lloyd was vastly superior to the so-called muckrakers, for Lloyd treated fully and cited exactly, while "the pat phrases of later writers rattled off the armor of great corporations." This is at variance with the facts. Lloyd's book was followed within the decade by a much superior work of the so-called muckraking school, Ida M. Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*. Miss Tarbell's volumes have been severely criticized, but as industrial history they are incomparably more thorough, shrewd, and careful than Lloyd's book. Indeed, anybody who compares Tarbell and Lloyd will have one good measure of the latter's shortcomings. Mr. Destler further writes that the attack upon Lloyd comes in cycles and "is sharpest when, as in recent years, the papers of some of the capitalists of an earlier day" (he notes the "Standard Oil coterie" as especially hostile) are opened to historians. What papers? What capitalists? No Standard Oil papers save those of Rockefeller and J. N. Camden have been thrown open, and Camden's biographer ignores Lloyd. The attack on Lloyd's ideas is sharpest when some qualified economist deals with him; witness Gilbert H. Montague's work on the Standard Oil (1903), begun when Montague was Ricardo Scholar at Harvard.

In attempting to produce the impression that most criticism of Lloyd is of recent and dubious origin, Mr. Destler has to reckon with other writers than Tarbell, Montague, John T. Flynn, and myself—for by implication and comparison the first three expose Lloyd's faults nearly as much as I do. He has to reckon with the New York *Nation*, which when Lloyd's book appeared was the leading critical organ of the country, invariably expert, judicious, and responsible. Its literary columns were conducted without fear or favor by Wendell Phillips Garrison. The review of *Wealth against Commonwealth* was scathingly condemnatory. "This book," it began, "is a notable example of the rhetorical blunder of overstatement." A temperate, judicial presentation of evidence against the Standard Oil would have been useful. "But instead of this, we have over five hundred pages of the wildest rant. Much learning in the Standard Oil Company has made Mr. Lloyd mad. He raves more coherently at some times than at others; but he is never perfectly sane." The *Nation* continued:

If we examine the particulars of the case presented by Mr. Lloyd, we find a number of them to be supported by questionable evidence. It is in the first place a very suspicious circumstance that Mr. Lloyd never mentions the names of the individuals whose conduct he denounces.<sup>2</sup> . . . In the second place, Mr. Lloyd calls witnesses without discrimination. Some of them testify that they were bribed to commit arson and other crimes by the mysterious leaders of the Standard Oil Company. A dog would not be hung upon such evidence. Nor can Mr. Lloyd's citations of the evidence of reputable witnesses be allowed much weight, for he is so bitter in his advocacy that it would be grossly unfair to pass judgment upon his ex parte statement. It would be like deciding a case only after hearing the address to the jury of the plaintiff's attorney.

Upon the whole, Mr. Lloyd's book is abundantly calculated to arouse incredulity in the mind of any reader who understands the nature of evidence. . . . He appears to us

<sup>2</sup> Part of Lloyd's avoidance of names was excusable on his publisher's or his own fear of libel suits, but only part. It was absurd that in a long book treating of Standard Oil operations the names of John D. Rockefeller, H. H. Rogers, Henry M. Flagler, and Stephen V. Harkness never once appeared. A similar vagueness attaches to many dates and many discrete facts. Lloyd was in fact a master of ambiguous statement, accusation by insinuation, hinted and indirect charges, and reckless assertions modified by subtly evasive clauses. By avoiding names and dates, employing innuendo, and stopping just short of explicit charges which were rhetorically implied, he wished to make it difficult to pin him down to any exact affirmation.

to exhibit in his writings such indifference to truth, such incoherency of thought, such intemperance of speech, and such violence of passion, as to make him an undesirable leader. If reform can be had only through such reformers, it is better to endure our present ills. As to the Standard Oil Company, its history remains to be written, and the economic situation which it indicates remains to be described.<sup>3</sup>

Now for a specification of flaws. It is clear, to begin with, that Lloyd never understood or tried to understand Rockefeller and his associates. In his article "The Story of a Great Monopoly"<sup>4</sup> he wrote that "Rockefeller had been a bookkeeper in some interior town in Ohio, and had afterward made a few thousand dollars by keeping a flour store in Cleveland." Passing over the snobbery of this sentence (Lloyd achieved enjoyment of a handsome fortune by the easier method of marrying it), we find in its three blunders—Rockefeller was never bookkeeper in interior Ohio, never kept a flour store, and made much more than a few thousands in his commission business—proof of an indisposition to learn the truth about the oil magnate. Nowhere in *Wealth against Commonwealth* does Lloyd indicate any real effort to ascertain what manner of men Rockefeller, Rogers, Flagler, and Harkness were, why they had undertaken to organize the disorderly oil industry, and how they viewed their own aims. His unpublished letters are full of epithets like "robbery," "theft," and "depredation." Writing of "the essentially criminal character of what was done," he stated that the Standard heads "ought to be in the penitentiary."<sup>5</sup> Without supporting facts, he accused them of employing a "condottieri."<sup>6</sup> He wrote George Rice that the Standard men had been guilty of "piracies, treasons, and murders"—again without facts, for none existed. Such loose talk of treason and murder is not employed by responsible historians.

In *Wealth against Commonwealth* Lloyd wrote that Rockefeller and his partners had "dazzled the world by the meteor-like flash of their flight from poverty into a larger share of 'property'—the property of others—than any other group of millionaires had assimilated in an equal period."<sup>7</sup> Here again we meet with blunders. The rise of the Standard Oil men to great wealth was not from poverty. It was not meteor-like, but accomplished over a quarter of a century by courageous venturing in a field so risky that most large capitalists avoided it, by arduous labors, and by more sagacious and farsighted planning than had been applied to any other American industry. The oil fortunes of 1894 were not larger than steel fortunes, banking fortunes, and railroad fortunes made in similar periods.<sup>8</sup> But it is the assertion that the Standard magnates gained their wealth by appropriating "the property of others" that most challenges our attention. We have abundant evidence that Rockefeller's consistent policy was to offer fair terms to competitors and to buy them out, for cash, stock, or both, at fair appraisals; we have the statement of one impartial historian that Rockefeller was decidedly "more

<sup>3</sup> *Nation*, LIX (Nov. 8, 1894), 348. Other condemnatory reviews might be cited.

<sup>4</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVII (Mar., 1881), 321.

<sup>5</sup> Lloyd to "Golden Rule" Jones, Aug. 7, 1889, Lloyd Papers. Such unfounded statements explain why various Standard men expressed glee when one of Lloyd's closest relatives fell seriously afoul of the law.

<sup>6</sup> The Standard never needed and never employed any such body as the Pennsylvania Coal and Iron Police, and I have found no evidence of use of Pinkerton men.

<sup>7</sup> Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>8</sup> Carnegie in twenty-eight years, 1873–1901, accumulated a fortune of \$300,000,000, larger than the fortune Rockefeller accumulated in the twenty-eight years, 1863–1891. Burton J. Hendrick, *Life of Andrew Carnegie* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), II, 144. Lloyd himself opens his *Atlantic* article by exclaiming over the speed with which Commodore Vanderbilt, by his railroad operations, became the richest man of Europe or America. But Lloyd is full of such contradictions.



humane toward competitors" than Carnegie;<sup>9</sup> we have the conclusion of another that his wealth was "the least tainted of all the great fortunes of his day."<sup>10</sup> But even without such evidence, Lloyd's reckless assertion that the Standard property was all stolen clearly bears no relation to historic or economic truth. It is not in the spirit of such utterances that the work of any industrial captain, or the complex story of the construction of any of the huge industrial edifices, is to be understood.

Of Rockefeller's true character (one broad side of which—austere, hard-working, home-loving, religious, and even in days of small means highly philanthropic—must command regard), Lloyd knew nothing. It may be said that Rockefeller's private character was no concern of Lloyd's. But had he learned something about it, he would have spared himself an egregious error. At one point, even Mr. Destler remarks, Lloyd did Rockefeller "less than justice." Less than justice indeed! Lloyd in *Wealth against Commonwealth* charged, in essentials, that Rockefeller had tyrannously brought a poor Cleveland widow, Mrs. F. M. Backus, into his power; that by threats, cajolery, and trickery he broke her resistance; that he forced her to sell for \$60,000 a business "worth nearly \$400,000"; and that after thus robbing a defenseless woman, toiling for her "fatherless children," he brutally refused to let her keep even an interest of \$15,000 "in the business into which she and her husband had built their lives." Rockefeller was characterized as "the great man of commerce, who passes the contribution box for widows' mites outside the church as well as within." Filling a complete chapter, the tale was garnished with Lloyd's peculiar rhetoric: words like "slavery," phrases like "the maw or the morgue," and even a closing reference to the way in which "Dives once begged for a drop of water," which was intended to suggest that Rockefeller would soon languish in Tophet. This widely circulated tale did Rockefeller immeasurable harm. He had just founded the University of Chicago; he was planning other benefactions; his house was filled with missionaries and social workers; he was the principal lay pillar of the Baptist church; he was constantly consulting with such men as Drs. William Rainey Harper, W. H. P. Faunce, and Jacob Gould Schurman. But what a hypocrite this robber of widows was!

It is unnecessary to go into the evidence which has completely disproved every part of this bit of "history," and shown that the Widow Backus was treated with exemplary generosity.<sup>11</sup> This evidence Lloyd could easily have found. Nobody now defends his story. Mrs. Backus apparently died wealthy. If the reader of these lines were accused of tricking and browbeating a helpless widow, and robbing her of a large sum; if the allegation were sown broadcast in repeated editions of a famous book; if he knew that his traducer could quickly have ascertained its falsity, he would probably feel as Mr. Rockefeller always felt about Lloyd—that he was a "misguided man."

It is clear, again, that Lloyd never seriously tried to understand, in any historical sense, the industrial situation out of which the trust movement grew, or the circumstances under which the Standard and many like combinations were organized. He treats the rise of the Standard Oil combination, embracing leaders of the refining industry in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, the Oil Regions, New York, and Baltimore, as a conspiracy to create chaos in a flourishing, prosperous industry for the enrichment of a few predatory men. He begins by paint-

<sup>9</sup> Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* (New York, 1935), II, 343.

<sup>10</sup> John T. Flynn, *God's Gold: The Story of Rockefeller and His Times* (New York, 1932), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> See Flynn, p. 203; Nevins, II, 49-52; John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (New York, 1909), pp. 96 ff.; Charles J. Woodbury, in *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 21, 1911. Woodbury had been an employee of F. M. Backus.



ing a paradisaical picture of the oil industry in its early years. Readers of *Wealth against Commonwealth* will find, in pages 40-43 inclusive, a dazzling account of a Golden Age in northwestern Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup> But into this elysium a serpent was preparing to creep. In 1863—Lloyd says 1862, but this is an error—Rockefeller entered refining in Cleveland. Then “as early as 1865 strange perturbations were felt, showing that some undiscovered body was pulling the others out of their regular orbit.” Still the Golden Age continued. But before the panic of 1873 general distress began to make itself felt. Some oil combination was putting an end to the happy era of prosperity. “Out of this havoc and social disorder,” Lloyd laments, “one little group of half a dozen men were rising to the power and wealth which have become the marvel of the world.”

The facts, as every careful student knows, are not only far more complex than this simple view suggests but point in the opposite direction. It was the disorder which preceded and caused the industrial combination; not the combination which caused the disorder. This was true alike of the oil industry, railroad industry, sugar industry, and many others.<sup>13</sup> It is an elementary fact of economic history that in the great business efflorescence after the Civil War many industries suffered heavily from excessive expansion, overproduction, and cutthroat competition. Railroad rate wars in the 1860's and 1870's almost bankrupted many roads and gave rise to eveners' agreements and pools which by 1887 were almost universal. Excessive competition in the salt industry, causing sickening losses, again resulted in pooling compacts. To stop a savage competition of overgrown units which led straight to the bankruptcy courts, whisky distillers resorted first to pools and then to a trust, while the same conditions in the sugar industry prompted Henry Havemeyer to introduce the same remedy. In no industry was competition fiercer or more damaging than in oil refining. Here occasional periods of prosperity held out a glittering lure; rising world demand and advancing gold values assisted the boom; less capital was required to set up one of the early refineries than to establish a jewelry store or livery stable. In the spring of 1865 the Oil Regions had about thirty, with more fast being added; that fall Pittsburgh had eighty; by the following autumn Cleveland had more than fifty.<sup>14</sup> They sprang up in the East all the way from West Virginia to Portland, Maine. The production of crude oil was equally unrestrained. Market gluts, price slashing, and disaster followed. What Dr. Paul Giddens in *The Birth of the Oil Industry* calls the “years of depression” began in 1865-66 at the time of the great Pithole rush, with its heavy oil production, and continued with intervals of partial recovery<sup>15</sup> until the national depression of 1873.

The evidence of this widespread overexpansion, harsh competition, and ruthless price cutting, contained in files of commercial newspapers, annual reports of boards of trade in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other cities, and statistics of the Chamber of Commerce of the state of New York, is summarized in some fifty pages of my life of Rockefeller, with citations far too numerous to list. Overproduction of crude oil forced well owners to set up rings and later to attempt stop-

<sup>12</sup> Comparison of these roseate pages with Paul H. Giddens' scholarly and realistic work on *The Birth of the Oil Industry* (New York, 1938), pp. 114-96, is illuminating.

<sup>13</sup> Described in Myron W. Watkins, *Industrial Combinations and Public Policy* (Boston, 1927) and Henry R. Seager and Charles A. Gulick, jr., *Trust and Corporation Problems* (New York, 1929), as well as numerous earlier works.

<sup>14</sup> Pittsburgh *Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1865; Cleveland Board of Trade, *Report*, 1866; William Wright, *The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1865).

<sup>15</sup> Notably in 1869, when Pithole had gone dry and consumption had come fairly abreast of production; Giddens, p. 192.

drilling agreements,<sup>16</sup> but nothing could restrain the frenzied rush to new sites. Overproduction of refined oil naturally followed. Area competed with area, for the Oil Regions, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Cleveland all wished to establish supremacy; railroads serving the different areas stimulated this rivalry. The margin between the price of a gallon of crude oil and a gallon of refined oil sank from 19½ cents in 1865 to 7<sup>9</sup>/<sub>10</sub> cents in 1870; and it required four gallons of crude to make three gallons of refined. Failures became commonplace. Indeed, the records of bankruptcy cases and testimony of commercial editors show that at times the situation was appalling. Yet there is not one line in Lloyd's chapter on these years to show that overproduction and overcompetition, among well owners and refiners alike, was a factor in the depression. Mr. Giddens enumerates half a dozen contributory elements: unbalance between production and consumption, taxation, adverse export conditions, transportation difficulties, banking troubles, and speculative rings.<sup>17</sup> Not one of these is mentioned by Lloyd. Intent on making readers believe his theory of a disruptive plot, a conspiracy against prosperity, he traces the difficulties entirely to a refiners' combination which did not exist even in embryo until 1872, and did not operate effectively until after 1873!

As Mr. Destler questions my statement regarding Lloyd's Golden Age, one of several passages may be quoted. Of this period Lloyd writes:<sup>18</sup>

There was a free market for the oil as it came out of the wells and the refineries, and free competition between buyers and sellers, producers and consumers, manufacturers and traders. Industries auxiliary to the main ones flourished. Everywhere the scene was of expanding prosperity, with, of course, the inevitable percentage of ill-luck and miscalculation; but with the balance, on the whole, of such happy growth as freedom and the bounty of nature have always yielded when in partnership. The valleys of Pennsylvania changed into busy towns and oil-fields. The highways were crowded, labor was well-employed at good wages, new industries were starting up on all sides, and everything betokened the permanent creation of a new prosperity for the whole community, like that which came to California and the world with the discovery of gold.

Lloyd goes on to say that in 1869 the business had sprung to a net product of "6,000,000 barrels of oil a year" (the true figures for 1869 are just over 4,800,000);<sup>19</sup> that the Oil Regions had "provided the financial institutions needed" (actually they depended heavily on outside banks, while the three pioneer oil exchanges at Titusville, Oil City, and Franklin were not organized until 1871); and that they had "built up towns and cities, with schools, churches, lyceums, theatres, libraries, boards of trade" (also with saloons, gambling hells, and other appurtenances of a rough boom area, and with a marvelous litter of wreckage as boom cities like Pithole were abandoned).<sup>20</sup> The true picture of fierce individualism and mingled boom-and-bust in oil production and refining alike Lloyd does not give, for it would spoil his picture of Rockefeller's plot-against-the-Pennsylvania-paradise.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Both Lloyd and Miss Tarbell, savage in criticizing combinations of refiners, never criticize combinations of oil producers to restrict the flow and so raise prices.

<sup>17</sup> Giddens, pp. 153 ff.; John J. McLaurin, *Sketches in Crude Oil* (Franklin, Pa., 1902), pp. 355 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>19</sup> As usual, Lloyd is vague about dates; here he slips into one of his mistakes by dating his passage ten years after Drake's discovery of oil (p. 43).

<sup>20</sup> *Derrick's Handbook of Petroleum* (Oil City, 1898), 142, 147, 149; Giddens, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>21</sup> In speaking of the "strange perturbations" produced in 1865 by "some undiscovered body" Lloyd apparently wished to make readers believe that a refiners' combination was already at work. No such body existed for years afterward.

Actually the situation was such that by 1871 railroad presidents and responsible refiners (the Logans of Philadelphia, Frew and Lockhart of Pittsburgh, Rockefeller and Flagler of Cleveland) were looking desperately for a remedy.

In short, Lloyd confused cause and effect; for nothing can be plainer than that it was chaos which produced combination and not combination which produced chaos.

Lloyd's misstatement of this basic situation is emphasized by his vague, confused, and erroneous presentation of the South Improvement Company. Correct in treating this company as indefensible, he is misinformed on much else. He asserts that Rockefeller was the "principal member" of the South Improvement Company. On the contrary, Rockefeller, like Flagler, entered it unwillingly (he had a very different plan of his own), never fully believed in it, and was probably glad when it was abandoned. Neither his name nor Flagler's was on the original list of stockholders. Neither became an officer of the company. Lloyd correctly treats the company as the product of joint action by certain railroads and refiners, but the emphasis of his exposition (like the above remark concerning Rockefeller) gives the refiners the more important role. Here he is wrong. The scheme originated with the oil-carrying railroads; its chief backers were Peter H. Watson of the New York Central-Lake Shore system and Vice-President Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania; and Watson became president. Its main objects were to unite the oil-carrying railroads in a pool for the division of traffic, to unite the refiners in an association to act as traffic eveners, and to tie the two elements together by agreements which would stop destructive price cutting on refined oil and raise freight rates on petroleum. Rockefeller, preferring what he called "our plan" of a more completely integrated union of refiners, was continuously skeptical of "Tom Scott's scheme."<sup>22</sup>

The vital differences between the two plans are completely missed by Lloyd in his astonishing assertion that the Standard Oil was simply the South Improvement Company revived. He wished to attach to the Standard the odium of the earlier combination. He therefore wrote of "the oil trust into which the improvement company afterwards passed by transmigration. Any closer connection there could not be. One was the other."<sup>23</sup> We may well rub our eyes at this. One was the other! In reality, the stillborn South Improvement Company was an *ad hoc* creation; the Standard Oil combination was a slow growth over a period of a half-dozen years. The South Improvement Company was a very loose association of refiners, bound together only by agreements with each other and the railroads; the Standard Oil trust became a complete unification of properties. The South Improvement Company proposed to force other refiners to join by a crushing system of secret freight rebates; the Standard Oil combination was built up by purchase and merger—sometimes with the aid of rebates, sometimes not. The South Improvement Company was united like a Siamese twin to a railroad pool; the Standard stood apart from any railroad combination, and early in its history fought perhaps the most titanic industrial battle of the century with the Pennsylvania Railroad. The two organizations had few resemblances and the most radical differences. The statement that "one was the other" is nonsense.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cf. my life of Rockefeller, I, chap. xiv, which sharply condemns Rockefeller's participation in the South Improvement Company.

<sup>23</sup> Lloyd, p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Destler defends Lloyd's statement that the South Improvement Company actually "did business," first by treating all the work of *organizing* the company *preparatory* to using it for business operations as comprehended in that phrase; and second, by citing the evidence that *one* shipment was perhaps made at the higher freight rates. This is not impressive. But what

Thus we might track Lloyd through chapter after chapter. In dealing with the Standard Oil rebates (which I condemn as warmly as he) he omits all mention of the facts that widespread rebating antedated the Standard and even the Civil War, and that independent refiners took rebates as eagerly as Standard men. He essays at great length to justify the attempt of a political-minded auditor-general of Pennsylvania to tax the Standard, an Ohio corporation, not merely upon its Pennsylvania properties but on its whole capital stock and dividends, an attempt which utterly broke down in the courts (pp. 166-81). His treatment of the "immediate shipment" controversy (pp. 104 ff.) is highly misleading. He gives seventeen pages, with much tear-wringing rhetoric (pp. 181-98), to a suit against one of the Standard's component companies which the judge closed with a six-cent verdict. His statistics on prices can easily be riddled. On page 403 he finds something terribly sinister in the fact that William C. Whitney, identified as an "associate" of Rockefeller, was managing Grover Cleveland's 1892 campaign; Whitney was never an associate of Rockefeller and never connected with the Standard. So far we might regard Lloyd as merely ignorant and partisan, his sincerity standing unquestioned. But unfortunately his book contains material which throws suspicion on his literary integrity. Mr. Destler tries to exculpate him from two of my charges, giving a distorted statement of each. The evidence may here be briefly restated.

To the Buffalo conspiracy case of 1887 Lloyd allots the disproportionate space of forty-five pages. Hiram B. and Charles Everest, organizers of the Vacuum Oil Company of Rochester, and John D. Archbold, H. H. Rogers, and Ambrose McGregor, through whom the Standard had bought a three quarters interest in the works, were indicted for allegedly conspiring to blow up the plant and otherwise destroy the business of the rival Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, Ltd. The trial attracted wide attention. It ended in a fine of \$250 each for the Everests and the acquittal of the three others! These are the basic facts on which Lloyd built an amazingly *ex parte* recital.

Lloyd offers at great length, with detailed comment, the entire case of the prosecution (pp. 243 ff.). He expatiates upon the rugged virtues of the head of the Buffalo company, Charles B. Matthews, and his associates Miller and Wilson. He excoriates the Everests for their alleged machinations to ruin these competitors. In ten sensational pages he describes how an employee was induced to sabotage the Buffalo plant; how he weighted the safety valve of the oil-still furnace and packed it with plaster; how he ordered the fire stoked till the firebox grew cherry-red; and how the plant was saved only because the plaster broke and the valve opened. But for this, Lloyd indicates, the Buffalo plant would have exploded into "acres of fire"; its men would have been "literally roasted alive." The Everests committed other alleged crimes; they spread damaging reports about the Buffalo company, enticed workers away, and brought vexatious patent suits. But their foulest act was this attempt at a horrible explosion and general holocaust.

The reader of Lloyd's account is left in amazement that criminals so monstrous should have been let off with paltry fines of \$250, while their accomplices were

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is really in question in this connection is Lloyd's statement that when the company appeared "there were panics in oil speculation, bank failures, defalcations. Many committed suicide. Hundreds were driven into bankruptcy and insane asylums" (pp. 43, 44). That great excitement arose is certain—but it was a belligerent excitement. Lloyd's idea that the mere organization of the company, with one possible shipment, would drive the hard-bitten, rough-spoken, intensely self-reliant oil operators of northwestern Pennsylvania pell-mell into suicide and insanity, is delightfully comical.

freed—until the reader, if wary, suddenly realizes that Lloyd has completely suppressed the evidence for the defense. On the vital point of the “explosion” (Lloyd uses the word again and again, and actually speaks of “the Buffalo explosion” though his own record shows that no explosion whatever took place),<sup>25</sup> not a shred of the defense is offered. Yet its story is highly significant. A plant-management expert of the Standard, a Princeton graduate of twenty years’ experience in refining, testified that it was general usage to attach safety valves to fire stills; that it was economical to build extremely hot fires to heat the petroleum as fast as possible; that “there is no such thing as making too hot a fire for the first two hours”; and that safety valves frequently broke open. Other experts testified that packing plaster of Paris in safety valves was common practice; it prevented leakage of gases in the still, but instantly broke when the valve blew open. An independent refiner of Philadelphia, of obvious honesty, corroborated all this; the safety valve was sound usage, and the cherry-red fire “occurs at almost every distillation in my knowledge.”<sup>26</sup>

Not only did Lloyd suppress all this, but he suppressed also the fact that the principal witness to the alleged sabotage was a brother-in-law of Matthews. He suppressed the evidence that in establishing the Buffalo plant Matthews and his associates Miller and Wilson had acted unethically; they were former employees of the Vacuum Oil Company, and they took steps to copy the special Vacuum process, reproduce some of the Vacuum machinery, and carry off the list of Vacuum customers. Lloyd also suppressed Wilson’s testimony that Matthews had said that he expected to get \$100,000 or \$150,000 by getting the Standard to buy him out, and Matthews’ own uneasy admission on the witness stand that he had said “something of that sort”—i.e., that he might be bought out for a large sum.<sup>27</sup>

These suppressions amount to falsification of the record. When the defense story is told, and not until then, we can understand why the Everests were let off with the inconsequential penalty of a \$250 fine, and the three more prominent defendants acquitted. Men guilty of trying to blow up a factory are not treated so lightly. When the defense story is told we can understand why it was that, to quote Lloyd (p. 286), six of the jurors “signed a statement that the prisoners were found guilty, not because they had conspired to blow up their rival’s refinery, but because they had enticed away Albert [an employee].” One juror certainly signed an affidavit that he believed the whole panel did not intend, “in rendering said general verdict, to pronounce the defendants guilty of an attempt or conspiracy to blow up or burn the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, Ltd.,” but simply guilty of enticement of a worker. By suppressing the defense, Lloyd placed himself under the necessity of supplying wild explanations of the result. He writes that the judge was crooked; “he failed to remember to observe the law” (p. 278).

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd devotes the greater part of two pages (pp. 252–53) to lurid rhetoric upon subsequent explosions in the oil industry—though actually one was apparently an ordinary gas main explosion; incidents in which no malpractice was alleged, and which had no connection with the Buffalo explosion—that-never-exploded. His intent seems to be to confuse readers, arouse a prejudice, and suggest to hasty people that the Standard was probably guilty of setting fires and blowing up plants in a variety of places.

<sup>26</sup> *House Trust Investigation*, 1888, gives all this evidence verbatim.

<sup>27</sup> Mr. Destler states that the charge of business “blackmail” against Matthews was “never proved.” But the testimony of Matthews’ partner on this point is explicit (*House Trust Investigation*, 1888, p. 917), while Matthews himself admitted that he had “talked about selling the property” to a businessman known to be close to the Standard Oil, and had discussed a price. Mr. Destler states that the point is irrelevant. It is relevant to the historian in bearing on Matthews’ motives and character, and in contradicting Lloyd’s absurdly idealized portrait of the man.



The six jurors were probably crooked; the district attorney accused them of taking bribes (p. 286). Even the minister of Matthews' church was crooked; he asked Matthews to drop his office in the church, simply because a Standard agent in the city had been "very kind to our pastor" (pp. 294, 295).<sup>28</sup> H. H. Rogers, John D. Archbold, and Ambrose McGregor contended that their own indictment had been an afterthought of the district attorney in an effort to exploit anticorporation prejudices. Judge Haight directed their acquittal on the ground that they clearly knew nothing about the alleged enticement or sabotage. Lloyd includes none of the facts which led Ida M. Tarbell, after careful study of the papers, to declare that their connection with the case "had been so indirect" that their indictment was quite unjustified.<sup>29</sup>

The Buffalo case was a sorry episode in American industrial history. Nearly all those concerned with it (John D. Rockefeller was not one) emerge badly. In my life of Rockefeller I sharply censure H. H. Rogers and the Standard attorney, S. C. T. Dodd, for several acts. While nobody can now determine the exact degree of guilt attaching to the Everests, they had certainly behaved with gross impropriety and probably with some criminality. But among the sorry figures in the case is Lloyd. The charge against him is not that he failed to delve deeply into the evidence. It is that his eagerness to blacken the Standard led him to suppress one entire side of it.<sup>30</sup> His chapters are larded with the usual question-begging rhetoric. Typical page headings include "Crime Cheaper Than Competition," "The Victim Punished First," and "Hardly a Mouthful for the Trust." He makes the most of every crumb for the prosecution. But that there was a case for the defense, and a strong case, no reader would ever guess.<sup>31</sup>

A similar instance of *suppresio veri* is afforded by Lloyd's treatment of the Payne election case. Whether Henry B. Payne of Cleveland, a prominent Douglas Democrat before the Civil War and a prominent Tilden Democrat after it, was a beneficiary of bribery in gaining his Senate seat no man can now say.<sup>32</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> Matthews had accused the Buffalo board of aldermen of corruption and had even carried that charge to the legislature, which dismissed it. In fact, he and Lloyd saw conspiracies and crooks on every hand. But Miss Tarbell furnishes a more reasonable explanation of the pastor's act; she writes that the Buffalo Company partners were guilty of "bad faith and various questionable practices." *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), p. 221. Mr. Destler's own "explanation" that the fine was kept trivial because damage suits were hanging over two of the defendants obviously does not touch the heart of the matter. Had judge and jury believed them guilty of a malicious explosion, the penalty would have been imprisonment, not a fine. For such an act, section 636 of the New York Penal Code of 1881 prescribed "imprisonment for not more than ten years." It is clear that judge and jury discarded the idea of such guilt.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* By contract with the Standard after the acquisition, the Everests had been given employment for five to ten years as managers of the Vacuum; and being entirely familiar with the works and market, ran the plant with little reference to Archbold, Rogers, and McGregor, directors of the Vacuum Company living four hundred miles away.

<sup>30</sup> Mr. Destler remarks that Lloyd examined more evidence than I did. As I visited Buffalo for material, made contact with the Matthews family, used printed evidence thoroughly, and employed Mr. Oscar Zeichner to assist me in a much more careful search of the press than Lloyd made, I deny this. Rockefeller's connection with the case being tenuous (he was merely a witness called by the prosecution), his biographer's responsibility was limited. But I thought I had made it clear that I hold Lloyd at fault not for failing to get the evidence, but for dropping half of it out of sight when found. In a revised edition of my life of Rockefeller to appear after the war, I shall make this plain to the hastiest reader.

<sup>31</sup> Mr. Destler remarks that "Lloyd, rather than Nevins, follows the evidence that won the case." It is certain that Lloyd follows the prosecutor's evidence and practically nothing else, making only a few brief references to the defense testimony. But in how far was the case really "won"? It was lost as to Rogers, McGregor, and Archbold, and practically lost as to the two Everests.

<sup>32</sup> Payne presented the Douglas report at the Charleston Convention of 1860, and a flattering

undisputed facts are that in 1884 the Ohio legislature met with a Democratic majority; that the Democratic caucus gave Payne forty-six votes, Durbin Ward seventeen, and George H. Pendleton fifteen for the Senate seat; that the legislature then elected Payne with practically all the Democratic votes; and that disappointed Democrats soon raised a cry of bribery. When a Republican house came into power in Ohio in 1886 it took up these charges, which involved several Standard Oil men, and ordered an investigation by a select committee; fifty-five or sixty witnesses were heard; the minority report declared that "absolutely nothing" had been found in any way compromising the accused legislators; and the majority report, while declaring that "the testimony developed nothing of an inculcating character concerning the members of the House named in the resolution of inquiry," stated that the circumstances warranted sending the testimony to the United States Senate "for such action as it may deem advisable." The evidence was referred to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections; this body, after scrutinizing it carefully, reported in July, 1886, against any further investigation; and the Senate by a vote of forty-four to seventeen dismissed the issue. Historians may well regret that a Senate inquiry was not ordered. But the dismissal was not on party grounds, for both the Senate committee and the Senate itself were Republican.<sup>33</sup>

Lloyd was eager to make his readers believe that the Standard Oil had bought Payne his Senate seat. Nearly all the Standard heads were Republicans, uninterested in Democratic affairs; the idea that a man of Payne's high probity could be controlled in the Standard's interest is hardly tenable; and Rockefeller, who was sometimes evasive but never mendacious, has explicitly denied that the Standard interfered in this matter. We may put to one side the now insoluble question whether bribery swayed the election. For our purposes the material issue is the use Lloyd made of the available evidence. It was of course not enough for him to suggest bribery of a general character; it had to be Standard Oil bribery. His account is marked by these extraordinary features:

1. Lloyd makes great use of the fact that the chief financial manager of the Payne campaign at Columbus was treasurer of the Standard Oil. *He completely suppresses the fact that this man was Payne's son, with a filial motive for wishing his father in the Senate*, and the additional fact that, being independently wealthy, he was quite able to finance his own campaign operations.<sup>34</sup>
2. Lloyd fails to mention that whereas the legislature which elected Payne was Democratic, the legislature which two years later asked an investigation was Republican.
3. Lloyd's statement of the presentation of testimony to the Senate is less

portrait of him as "a lawyer of culture and gentleman of refinement" may be found in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), II, 446, 447. He was Tilden's choice for the Democratic presidential nomination of 1880; Alexander C. Flick, *Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1939), p. 455. His fitness for his senatorial seat was never questioned.

<sup>33</sup> The official documents in the case are the *Ohio House Journal*, 67th General Assembly, 1886; 49 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Miscellaneous Document 106*; 49 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Report 1490*.

<sup>34</sup> Mr. Destler remarks that I "may be forgiven, perhaps, for failing to discover the distinction between Oliver H. Payne, the treasurer of the oil trust, and Oliver H. Payne, the son of Henry B. Payne." That is precisely the distinction upon which I insist in my life of Rockefeller. It is precisely the distinction which Lloyd fails to make, and does not allow his readers the information for making.



honest than Miss Tarbell's. She writes: "The testimony did not prove the charge of bribery, the Ohio legislature said." Nor does Lloyd mention that the minority of the house committee in Ohio declared that the evidence was completely empty.

4. Lloyd tries to suggest throughout that the Ohio legislature was unable to get at a great deal of evidence that the United States Senate could have found. The fact is that the Ohio investigation was most searching. The majority of the house committee reported: "Whenever our attention was called to anything which indicated the probable employment of improper means to gain support, we followed the clues presented. . . . our inquiries were not confined to the technical rules of legal proof, but the committee availed itself of any source of information—admitted hearsay statements, and even the opinions of witnesses." The minority reported that the committee had "exercised the greatest liberality possible in the taking of testimony, which has extended the scope of its inquiry far beyond the limits that could be given the most liberal construction of the resolution." The investigative powers of the Senate were actually narrower than those of the Ohio authorities.<sup>35</sup>

5. Lloyd states that of the evidence brought from Ohio to the Senate (which included new material specially prepared by two Republican congressmen of Ohio) "none of the matter was presented on mere hearsay or rumor." As I say in my biography, "His own statement then proves that practically all of it was so presented." Men were willing to say they had *heard* this or that of bribery, but of direct evidence there was a minimum.

6. Describing the adverse report of the Senate elections committee, Lloyd makes a statement intended to suggest that it acted on partisan grounds. He writes of "Senators Pugh, Saulsbury, Vance, and Eustis [Democrats] voting against Hoar and Frye." He suppresses the fact that three Republicans of high standing, William M. Evarts, a former Secretary of State, Henry M. Teller, a former Secretary of the Interior, and John A. Logan, onetime major general commanding the Army of the Tennessee, voted alongside Pugh, Saulsbury, Vance, and Eustis.

7. Lloyd, unlike Miss Tarbell, fails to mention the emphatic vote, forty-four to seventeen, by which the Senate dismissed the matter.

The point at issue here is not the question whether bribery was or was not used. No positive assertion on that question is now possible. The point is that Lloyd does not make a fair statement of the evidence pro and con. It may be added that he accuses Payne, without evidence, of dishonest subserviency to corporate influence in his vote on the Interstate Commerce Bill (p. 388). Again we meet the rhetorical flourishes: "Coal-Oil Legislators," "The Senate Votes To Be a Market," "The Presidency on the Bargain-Counter." When did the Senate vote to be a market? When was the Presidency put on the bargain counter? If this

<sup>35</sup> As Mr. Destler denies this, a word of explanation is in order. It may be that a Senate committee could have brought before it a few witnesses unavailable in Ohio, though in dealing with others it would have labored under disadvantages of distance. But as a majority of the Senate committee agreed, their powers were limited. Some members thought they could inquire only into the question of Mr. Payne's participation in corrupt acts; other members held that they could inquire only into evidence showing that enough legislators had been bought to sway the election. In Ohio, on the other hand, evidence of the guilt of even one person could be investigated, and that person could be prosecuted in the courts. Senators Evarts, Logan, and Teller declared: "It is obvious that the province and duty of a State, in its investigations of fraud, corruption, and bribery in an election of senators, are much more extensive." Mr. Destler may refresh his memory of some of the difficulties met by Senate investigating committees by turning to the famous case of Frank B. Sanborn and the John Brown raid committee.

chapter is history, a better name for the productions of true historians must be found.<sup>36</sup>

At this point we may end our detailed traversal of Lloyd's pages. In noting his weaknesses, I do not intend to suggest for a moment that the Standard Oil and other monopolies were not guilty of great abuses. The voracities that accompanied the Standard's rise to power and that marked its long domination of the oil business are described with great fullness, and with much more precision than Lloyd offered, in chapter after chapter of my life of Rockefeller: "The Conquest of Cleveland," "Rockefeller and the Producers," "Sweeping the Board," "He Should Keep Who Can," and a dozen others. Far from excusing the Standard's interference with government, in a chapter on "The Standard in Politics" I offer a detailed specification of them and present the only clear proof yet given that the Standard's agents *did* once bribe a legislature: the Pennsylvania legislature in connection with the Billingsley bill of 1887. My summation of Standard Oil practices at points goes beyond Lloyd's, for it takes full note of "a cruel use" of railroad rate discriminations, of espionage, of local price slashing to destroy competitors, of excessive profits, and of other evils. But it also takes note of the complex economic conditions which made the trust movement inevitable, of the laissez faire individualism which dominated business ethics, and of the Standard's many constructive achievements.

Some larger considerations remain to be briefly indicated. Lloyd, whose grasp of economic realities was never firm,<sup>37</sup> failed to comprehend the deeper meaning of the great sweep of business consolidation which took place during his generation. The fundamental postulates of *Wealth against Commonwealth* fit the early machine capitalism of the United States before 1870; they do not fit a system wherein the means and scale of production had enormously expanded, small businesses had in great part become uneconomic, and huge aggregations of plant and capital could in many instances best serve society. If there is a paragraph of Lloyd's book which shows a realization that the ravages of unbridled competition were frequently more terrible than the ravages of monopoly, careful reading fails to discover it; yet evidences of this fact (and of the wastefulness of much small business) lay all about him. In the field of business history moral strictures, however enticing, cannot be substituted for a scientific study of rigid economic causes and compulsions. Lloyd, failing to understand that the movement for industrial concentration was primarily a reaction against deep-seated evils and a response to irresistible economic forces (forces which in the last four years have conspicuously made big business still bigger), fails to do any justice to its beneficial side. His book contains nothing remotely comparable to Miss Tarbell's chapter on "The Legitimate Greatness of the Standard Oil Company"<sup>38</sup> and shows no understanding of those truths which Charles R. Van Hise shortly afterwards stated so vigorously

<sup>36</sup> Mr. Destler writes: "The admission by Nevins, II, 103-104, that it is clear that money was spent, probably corruptly, and 'with inexcusable lavishness by Payne's managers,' would seem to clinch Lloyd's main contention." Not at all. His main contention was that the Standard Oil did the bribing, and of this no proof was ever offered. Payne asserted that not a penny of Standard money went into his election; Rockefeller said not a farthing. Nevins, II, 103.

<sup>37</sup> Take Lloyd's remark that Buffalo was "a much better situation than Cleveland" for oil refining (p. 244). For three reasons Buffalo was a poor center. In rail transport it was long substantially dependent on one road; it could not compete in the export trade with the seaboard refineries; it could not compete with Cleveland in the Western trade.

<sup>38</sup> See also my chapters "Leviathan," "The Great Machine," and "New Horizons in Oil." Mr. Destler's statement that the Standard furnished no basic new process or device except the Frasch process is much like saying that Eli Whitney invented nothing but the cotton gin; for the Ohio and Ontario fields of sulphur-laden oil were made economically available by the Frasch

in his *Concentration and Control* (1912). Nor did Lloyd comprehend the true implications of the trust movement for the government. In his final chapters he condemns the very policy of government regulation of business which the nation has found indispensable, terming it "a dream" and a compromise with evil (p. 533).

Family piety has given Lloyd two volumes of eulogy; it is to be hoped his next biographer will not substitute "the foolish face of praise" for a strict appraisal. He was not a historian intent upon impartial truth and sensitive to the injunction, *audi alteram partem*; not an economist; not a clear-eyed analyst of current facts and trends. He was a truly remarkable propagandist. It is a disservice to Lloyd to view him as a historian. Many of his faults and errors fade away if he is treated as a publicist and crusader, laboring in what multitudes thought a great cause; but they condemn him utterly if he is treated as a historical writer.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Through the courtesy of the editor I have seen the galley proof of the above communication. After reading it I prepared an analytical comment and reply. I felt this was due to the editor who had accepted the article published in the October issue, to those who read it, and to myself. The editor, although recognizing the right of the affirmative to close the debate, finds my reply too extended to print. With this decision I do not seriously quarrel. If any readers are interested in following further Mr. Nevins' special technique in using and evaluating historical evidence, I shall be glad to send them a copy of my reply. I can assure the curious that it documents still further my view that Mr. Nevins' historical judgment of Lloyd and *Wealth against Commonwealth* in his life of Grover Cleveland was infinitely sounder than what his life of Rockefeller and the above communication betray. In this life of Grover Cleveland (pp. 606-607), Mr. Nevins described Lloyd's work as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by detail." He praises the accuracy with which Lloyd described "the iniquities of the trusts," the "sordid record of business piracy" of the Standard Oil which "was laid bare in more than five hundred *calm unemotional* pages" (*italics mine*), and emphasizes his tribute by pointing out that "Nothing escaped Lloyd's keen eye." This, believe it or not, is the same Lloyd Mr. Nevins is spluttering about in his communication.

A postal card request will bring my extension of these remarks.

Connecticut College

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I correct an error in my review in the October number of the *Review*, page 120? I there refer to Mr. Joseph Freeman, the author of the well-informed volume *Never Call Retreat*, as an Austrian. Mr. Freeman is an American citizen and has been resident in this country since he was seven years old.

HALVDAN KOHT

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process just as the Pennsylvania fields began to fail. But the Standard also made highly important contributions to the standardization of kerosene grades; the development of lubricating oils; the manufacture of innumerable petroleum by-products; and the packaging and transportation of oil. Its enterprise was the chief factor in developing the world market for American oil against Russian and Dutch competition. After Frasch's day it gave the world Dr. W. M. Burton's epochal process for "cracking" petroleum.

Attention of members is again called to the special notice on page 665, above, concerning names to be suggested to the Nominating Committee for Association officers.

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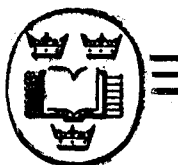
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